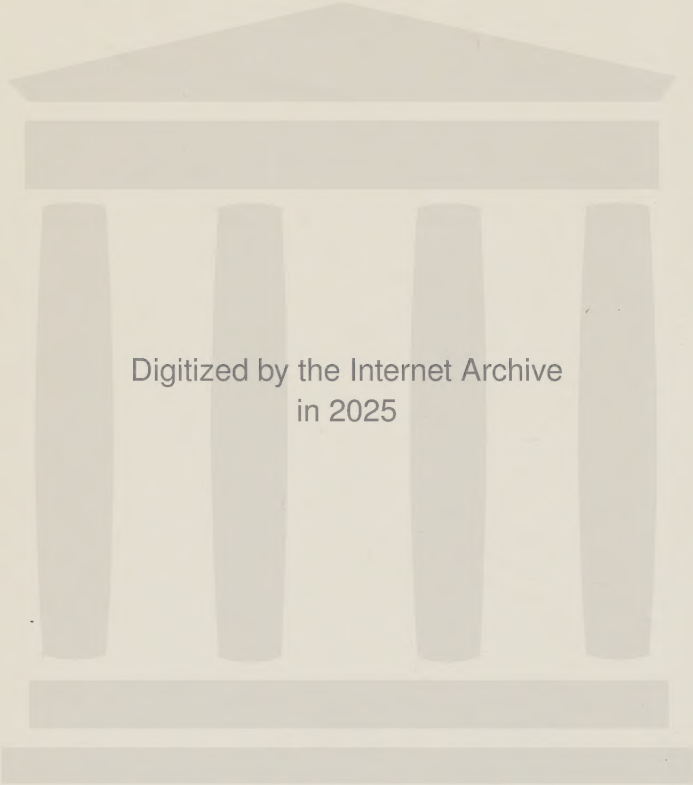


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HENRY BRADSHAW.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume consists chiefly, as will be seen, of matter which has already appeared in print. It may perhaps be thought that some of the papers were hardly worth reprinting, either because they were sufficiently accessible before, or because they have done their work. As to the latter point; most of them are valuable not only for their results, but as specimens of method: and in one subject at least, bibliography, such specimens are as much needed as ever. As to their accessibility, it is perhaps true that those who wanted them have been able to see them. But though the *Memoranda* were much appreciated by a few readers, not many copies were sold, while the illustrations referred to in several of them have long been quite unprocurable. Again, no. xvii of the *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications*, in which seven of Bradshaw's papers appeared, is rarely to be met with. So there is some reason to hope that in the present form they may have a wider range of usefulness.

The plates in this volume are all the work of the Cambridge Scientific Instrument Company, who have bestowed great care upon them with very satisfactory results. I must apologize for the alteration in Plate XIII, which does not now "represent the unbound book as it lies open" but the first leaf and the last leaf separately.

F. J.

September 19, 1889.

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I. ON THE RECOVERY OF THE LONG LOST WALDEN- SIAN MANUSCRIPTS ¹.

It will be known to all who have interested themselves in the history of the Vaudois, that Morland, the envoy from the Protector Cromwell to the Duke of Savoy on their behalf in 1655, wrote on his return in 1658 what he calls a History of the Evangelical Churches in Piedmont, based not only upon previous writers but upon authentic documents which he brought home and deposited in the Public Library of this University.

He tells us that it was Abp Ussher who stirred him up to lose no opportunity of securing any old books or papers which could throw light upon the early history and religious opinions of the Vaudois; and the results of his efforts may be appreciated by any one who will read the detailed catalogue of his books and papers which is prefixed to his History.

At the close of last century, Mr Nasmith, who was employed to make a fresh Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library, and under whose eye every single volume must have passed, stated that the papers were almost all safe, but that the six books or volumes mentioned by Morland had unaccountably disappeared. During the last forty years much has been written on the subject, and infinite trouble has been taken by Dr Maitland, Dr Todd, Dr Gilly, and other writers at home and abroad after them, both to search out any existing remains of the early Vaudois literature, and to account for the

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, March 10, 1862.

mysterious disappearance of these treasures from Cambridge. Their loss, it was justly alleged, was the more provoking, because they contained copies of portions of the Bible, of religious treatises, and specimens of poetry, all written in the old Vaudois dialect, and to which Morland assigned very early dates, ranging from the 10th to the 13th century. The copies were so old, says Morland, and the writings probably much older.

It was a point of considerable importance that the Cambridge manuscripts should be examined; for not only Morland and his Vaudois friends, but also their advocates in our own time, agreed in maintaining the claim of this community to have held the pure Genevan doctrines long before the time of Calvin. The historians of the 17th century, knowing that in the 13th the followers of Peter Waldo had been separated from the Roman communion, and knowing that their descendants in the 17th held the doctrines of Geneva, were illogical enough to conclude that therefore their ancestors in the 13th had anticipated Calvin's views by three centuries.

A long controversy was carried on in the *British Magazine* about twenty years since. Amongst the good results of this, it elicited from Dr Todd a most minute and careful description of the whole of the Ussher Collection of Waldensian MSS. in the Dublin University Library: and from this it appears that all the books there were written from 1520 to 1530, or at any rate in the 16th century. A volume at Geneva was also described, which was attributed by the librarian there to the 12th century, but which from the writing Dr Todd and other judges assigned without hesitation to the middle or latter half of the 15th.

One poem in particular, the Noble Lesson, was the subject of much discussion. Near the beginning occur the two lines which Morland prints and translates thus:—

Ben ha mil e cent an compli entierament,
Que fo scripta lora, Car son al derier temp.

There are already a thousand and one hundred years fully accomplished,
Since it was written thus, For we are in the last time.

The Geneva and Dublin copies both appear to agree with Morland's representation of the Cambridge copy, as far as the

date goes, and all parties were accordingly at a loss for an explanation of the appearance of a clearly Waldensian poem before the days of Peter Waldo. It even afforded to the followers of Leger and Morland an additional argument for the derivation of the name from Vallenses, or Churches of the Valleys, rather than from the name of the founder of the sect.

It will be readily believed, therefore, that it was with some pleasure and some surprise that I laid my hand upon the whole of these volumes a few weeks ago. In the same binding as the rest of the documents—three of them with Morland's and the donors' names and the date on the first page,—all six with the reference-letters ABCDEF clearly written inside the cover,—and all standing on the shelves as near to the "documents" as the difference of size would allow,—the only wonder is how they could ever have been lost sight of.

The insinuation in the British Magazine that the collection was placed here but a few weeks before Cromwell's death, and that, on that event, these books were removed to some safer stronghold of the Genevan views with the connivance of the Puritan Librarian of the day, I had long since felt to be groundless. Not only was the place then held by the model librarian and devoted loyalist William Moore¹, of Caius College, but I some time since found a cancelled receipt (dated 1689) for four of these very volumes, in the handwriting of Peter Allix, who seems to have examined them for his *Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, published in 1690.

¹ It must be borne in mind that ever since the death of William Moore (in 1659), under whom every part of the library seems to have been thoroughly explored, all the librarians and their assistants have uniformly, though unaccountably, declined to make themselves in any way acquainted with the manuscripts under their charge. So, when fresh catalogues were required, both Mr Nasmith and, more recently, the laborious compilers of the printed catalogue, were employed at a large

cost to the University, as being supposed to know a good deal of the subjects of the works existing in MS., but a knowledge of the history of the individual volumes was not to be expected from them. These facts afford the only possible explanation of the reputed loss of the Waldensian MSS. as well as others from our library. Their history was lost sight of, and they had come to be regarded as miscellaneous pieces, apparently in Spanish, of no particular importance.

It will be sufficient for the present purpose to give but a brief description of these six diminutive volumes; for, though undoubtedly the oldest extant relics of Vaudois literature, even when brought down from the 10th, 12th, and 13th centuries (to which Morland ascribes them) to the 15th; yet it cannot be doubted that, when they are once brought into due notice, which it is the object of this paper to procure, they will engage the attention of some scholar who is able to use them. To take them in the probable order of age:

F is a parchment volume measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and written, I should say, at the close of the 14th century. It contains the greater part of the New Testament, and certain chapters of Proverbs and Wisdom, in the following order: St Matthew (beginning gone), *no St Mark*, of St Luke only i. 1—iii. 6, followed at once by St John, *no Romans*, 1st (*no 2nd*) Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, *no Colossians*, of 1st Thessalonians only the first few words, and that clearly by mistake, and without heading, *no 2nd Thessalonians*, 1st and 2nd Timothy, Titus, *no Philemon*, of Hebrews only ch. xi. followed at once by Proverbs ch. vi. and Wisdom ch. v. and vi., Acts, James, 1st and 2nd Peter, followed possibly by the Epistles and Revelation of St John, but all after f. 158, 2 Pet. ii. 5, is wanting. There are leaves missing in several places, but in no case (except at the end) so as to prevent our knowing what the contents originally were.

B is a parchment volume measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and written probably in the first half of the 15th century. It consists of three portions, but the handwriting is uniform. The first portion (ff. 1—124) contains (1) the seven penitential psalms, and (2) the *In principio* from St John, in Latin; (3) *Glosa Pater noster*, partly printed from this by Morland (*History*, p. 133), (4) *Treçenas*, (5) *Doctor*, (6) *Penas*, (7) *Li goy de paradis*, (8) *La pistola de li amic*, and the poems, (9) *Novel confort*, (10) *Lo novel sermon*, (11) *La nobla leyçon*, printed from this by Morland (*History*, p. 99), (12) *Payre eternal*, and (13) *La barca*. The second portion (ff. 125—241) consists of a long treatise on the (1) ten commandments, (2) twelve articles of the faith, (3) seven deadly sins, (4) seven gifts of

the Holy Ghost, (5) theological virtues, (6) cardinal virtues, (7) *De li ben de fortuna e de natura e de gracia*, (8) *De seys cosas que son mot honorivol en aquest mont*; and the remaining nine pages are occupied by two sermons and a paragraph *De las abusions*. The third portion (ff. 242—271) is imperfect at both ends, but now contains seven sermons.

C is on paper, measuring $3\frac{3}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and written about the middle of the 15th century. It consists of three portions, all in one handwriting. The first (ff. 1—24) contains two sermons (1) *De la confession*, and (2) *De la temor del segnor*, the latter printed from this by Morland (*History*, p. 119). The second (ff. 25—32) contains one sermon; and the third portion (ff. 33—112, &c.) consists of (1) a sermon headed *Tribulacions*, (2) 7F. that is, a translation of 2 Macc. vii. from the Vulgate, (3) *Job*, a translation of Job i. ii. iii. and xlii. from the Vulgate, (4) *Tobia*, a translation of the whole book of Tobit from the Vulgate, (5) *La nobla leyçon*, which breaks off abruptly at the beginning of the fourteenth verse, the rest of the volume being lost.

A is on paper and parchment, measuring $3\frac{7}{8}$ by $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and written in the latter half of the 15th century. It consists of six different portions, all in one handwriting, except perhaps the last. Part I. (ff. 2—99) contains (1) *Genesis*, a translation of Gen. i.—x. from the Vulgate, (2) a Treatise on the nature of different animals, (3) *Lo tracta de li pecca*, (4) a sermon *De la parolla di dio*. Part II. (f. 100) is in Latin, and contains instructions to the clergy, headed *Sequitur de imposicione penitencie*. Part III. (f. 136) is a discourse beginning *Alcuns volon ligar la parolla de Dio segont la lor volunta*, on the *quatre manieras de trametament*, that is, of God, of God and man, of man alone, and of usurping preachers. Part IV. (f. 172) is a treatise entitled *Herman*. Part V. (f. 180) is a collection of Latin pieces. Part VI. (f. 232) contains, after three short paragraphs, a small historical passage on the voluntary poverty of the Church, unfortunately imperfect at the end, but of peculiar interest.

D is on parchment, measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and written also in the latter half of the 15th century. It is imperfect at

both ends, but now contains (1) a collection of medical recipes (beginning gone); (2) a discourse on tribulations, headed *Ayci comença sant ysidori*; (3) a sermon on the seven deadly sins and their remedies, on the text *Donca vos mesquins perque tarçen de ben far, &c.*; (4) a sermon on almsgiving, on the text *O vos tuit li qual lavora, &c.*; (5) three short pieces beginning *Dio bat li ome en .5. modo...*, *Nota che la son quatre cosas que nos apellan...*, *Nos vehen esser na .3. perillh en aquisti temp...*; (6) several short moral paragraphs; (7) a short Discourse on the twelve joys of paradise, on the text *Voç dalegreça e de salu es en li tabernacle de li iust*; (8) a general but brief exposition of Christian doctrine, commencing *A tuit li fidel karissimes christians sia salu en yhu xp̄t lo nostre redemptor Amen...*, and arranged under eight heads, but unfortunately breaking off in the middle of the third.

E is on paper, measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and consists of four parts, the handwriting not uniform throughout, but agreeing well with the dates 1519, 1521, which are found in the book. Parts I. and II. are parts of a Latin grammar. (1) *De interrogationibus, De participiis, De casu genitivo locali, De comparativis, De gerundivis*, with some *Flores legum* on one of the blank leaves at the end; (2) *De verbis*, with the translation of the verbs in the Vaudois dialect. In rubric at the beginning is: *Anno domini millesimo q :1521: dies :9: mensis Januarii*. Part III. contains Latin abstracts of (1) Proverbs, (2) Ecclesiastes, (3) Ecclesiasticus, followed by (4) some sentences from St Gregory; (5) a poem of 24 lines beginning:

Tout ce que la terre nourist;

(6) a poem of 282 lines headed: *Sequuntur mettra ceneche* (or *ceueche*) and beginning:

Commensament de tout ben es

Temer diou soubre tout quant es;

(7) a piece, contained on one leaf, headed: *Sequitur liber Arithmetti[cus] extratus a Johannonno Albi filio mgri Johannis Albi notarii de Fenestrellis sub Anno domini .1519. et die .22. mensis Augusty*, and beginning, *Per ben entendre lart...* Part IV. contains (1) *Albertani moralissimi opus de loquendi ac tacendi*

modo, an abridgment only; (2) *liber primus de amore et dilectione dei et proximi et de forma vite, ejusdem domini Albertani*, also an abridgment; (3) *versus morales*, beginning:

Est caro nostra cinis,
modo principium modo finis;

(4) *Exortation de bien vivre et bien mourir*, in 100 lines, beginning:

Qui a bien vivre veult entendre;

(5) *Optima consilia*; (6) Sentences headed *Philosophus*, with translations in verse; (7) 42 *versus morales*, beginning:

Au jorñ duy qui se auausse trop,

with which the volume concludes.

Judging from Dr Gilly's edition of St John, the text and dialect of our New Testament closely resemble the Grenoble, Zurich, and Dublin copies; and, but for the alleged antiquity of the Grenoble and Zurich copies, the incompleteness of this one might suggest the inference¹ that at this date the entire New Testament was not yet in circulation among the Vaudois. Those parts which were read as Epistles and Gospels in Church would naturally be the first translated, and we find these in MS. B; and, were this suggestion confirmed, we should have no proof of the existence of a regular translation of the New Testament earlier than the period which produced the Wycliffite versions in our own country.

In B the most noticeable pieces are the *Treçenas* and the *Nobla Leyçon*. The four *treçenas* are the four quarters of the year, each containing *thirteen* Sundays, and the Epistles and

¹ An examination of Dr Gilly's facsimiles rather confirms than weakens the suggestion made in the text. To judge from these, the Grenoble MS. must bear a very strong resemblance to our F, and the Zurich MS. to our C, the former of which I should assign to the close of the 14th, and the latter to the early part of the 15th century. The truth is that so very few volumes bear an actual date, that persons who

are familiar with MSS. may gain a fairly correct notion of the *relative* age of different volumes, and yet differ from other critics as to the *actual* age. I have very little doubt that most judges, if the four copies were placed open before them, would range them (1) Cambridge, (2) Grenoble, (3) Zurich, (4) Dublin. Of the Lyons copy I can say nothing, as no facsimile is given.

Gospels are headed 1st, 2nd, 3rd... Sunday of the 1st, 2nd... *treçena*, without any further distinctive name derived from the season. On a minute comparison, however, with the unreformed Roman, as well as other missals, they appear to be precisely the same, with only such small variations as are found to exist between the uses of different Churches at the same time; and this is particularly interesting, as so very few relics of the early Vaudois ritual are still in existence. The copy of the *Nobla leyçon* in this volume is the one which has created all the discussion, by the expression which I have quoted before, '*Ben ha mil e cent an*,' &c. It is, therefore, highly satisfactory to notice that the line runs in this copy;

Ben ha mil e * cent an compli entierament,

with an erasure before *cent*, where, by the aid of a glass, the Arabic numeral 4 is visible, of the same shape as those frequently used in this volume. The only thing which could be needed to prove the certainty of this reading, is that in MS. C there is the commencement of another copy of this same poem, which, as it is but a short fragment, and has escaped the attention of Leger and Morland altogether, I shall give entire. It is written continuously, the divisions being marked by points and coloured initial letters. It runs as follows¹:

AYCI COMENÇA | LA NOBLA LEYÇON. |

O frayres entende u|na nobla leyçon. |
 Sovent deven velhar e|istar ennauracion.
 Car nos | ven aquest mont esser pres | del chauon.
 Mot curios | deoran esser de bonas obras | far.
 Car nos ven aquest mont || a la fin apropiar.
 Ben ha | mil e .cccc. anz compli en|tierament.
 Que fo scritta lo|ra ara sen al derier temps. |
 Pauc daurian cubitar | car sen al romanent. |
 Tot | iorn ven las enseñas | venir a compliment.
 Acre|ysament de mal e amerma|ment de bens.
 Ayço son | li perilh que lescritura di. |
 Li auangelin o recoytan | e saint paul atresy.
 Car | neun home que viva non | po saber sa fin.
 Perço||... [The leaves which should follow are wanting.]

¹ The divisions mark the ends of italics denote the abbreviations of the the lines on the page in the MS.; the original.

There can be no doubt that the Geneva and Dublin copies are both later than our two; and, however we may explain the omission from them, it is at least the evidence of two earlier against two later copies, and this, added to the great difficulty of giving a reasonable explanation of the lines, seems enough to satisfy the most strenuous advocates of the antiquity of the poem.

A is the volume which, at the end of the sermon *De la parolla de dio*, contains the supposed date of transcription, 1230. The conclusion of the sermon is as follows:

Da 4^a. endureziš enayei fay aliome la
parolla dedio &c.
1530.

I can see nothing in the second figure but a badly made 5, though I confess it is difficult to explain the meaning of it. It seems to be in the original ink, and beyond any suspicion of tampering, but the handwriting and figures are clearly not those of the year 1530, nor indeed of 1430; while 1230, as the date of transcription, even apart from palæographical considerations, is out of the question. In Part V. the collection of Latin pieces, the *Doctor Evangelicus* (Wyclif) is cited. And further, in the historical passage at the close of the volume, after speaking of *Piero de Vaudia* and his excommunication, mention is made of the success of his followers until, two hundred years (*dui cent an*) after his time, a persecution arose, which continued even to the times of the writer. This brings the date of the composition to the beginning of the 15th century at the earliest. It is true that *dui* has been partly erased, but even *cent an* would bring the piece down much later than 1230; while it must be allowed that it is somewhat suspicious, that Morland has taken no notice in his catalogue either of this piece or of the fragment of the *Nobla leyçon* containing the true date, even though his list in many cases deals with the most insignificant details.

The passage on the voluntary poverty of the church is as follows¹:

¹ A better acquaintance with the language would have enabled me to print this piece much more correctly. But the primary object of this paper

[f. 236] Mas aço que la gleysa de li cyleyt istes en sancta religion regla e orde en sanct regiment, lo segnor ordene en ley meseyme gouernadors e iuies speritals resplandent de celestial sapiencia, e que li maior mostresan a li menor vita de sanctita e eysemple de salu; Mas li menor dovesan devota obediencia a li lor maior sotmettament e reverencia. De li regidor testimoniia S. Paul en li At de li apostol, diçent: *Atende a vos e a tot lo greç al cal lo Sant Sperit pause vos vescos a regir la gleysa de Dio la cal el aquiste cum lo sio sanc.* Mas el dis enayci a li sotmes: *Obede a li vostre derant pausa, e sotmete vos a lor.* Ac' Dio pause alguns en la gleysa prumierament li apostol, li 2. li propheta, li 3. li doctor. E Peyre apostol amonesta tant li derant pausa coma li sotmes: *Tuit demostrant humilitu entre vos. Car Dio contrasta a li superbi, mas el dona gracia a li humil.* Mas el despensa aquesta degneta a li seo karissime quilh luçessan de maior sanctita cum veraya pavreta, e fossan liora a maior tribulacion, que enapres aço li eyleves de maior gloria, e plus ample honor e enriqueça. Li cyleva de le stercora de terrenals riqueças, e lor done celestials consolacions. E aquilh que foron plus char amic de lui suffriron maiors e plus greos repropis. E sença dubi nos cresen lor esser cyleva de maior degneta e gloria. Mas aquesta sancta gleysa ac' al temp de li appostol creyse en moti milhiers e en sant orde per la redondeça de la terra, e permas per moti temp en verdor de sancta religion; e li regidor de la gleysa permaseron en pavreta e en humilita, segont las antiquas storias, encerque trey cent anç, ço es entro a Costantin emperi cessar; mas, regnant Costantin lebrós, un regidor era en la gleysa lo cal era apella Silvestre [f. 237] roman. Aquest istava al mont de seraphio iosta Roma, enayma es legi, per cayson de persecucion, e menava vita de pavres cum li seo. Mas Costantin receopu respost en li soyme, enayma e reconta, Anne a Sil-

has been to draw the attention of scholars to these genuine remains of the Waldenses of the 15th century, and while I only vouch for accuracy of reading where *names* and *numbers* are concerned (and this is of no small

importance here), the reader, if at all gifted with an eye for conjectural criticism, will readily correct what, from ignorance of the language, I have mis-read.

vestre, e fo babteia de lui al nom de yⁿ xⁱ, e fo monda de la lebrozia. Mas Costantin vesent se sana al nom de xⁱ de tanta miseriosa enfermeta, pense honrar lui lo cal lavia monda, e liore a lui la corona e la degneta del emperi. Mas el la receop, mas lo compaignon, enayma ay anni recontar, se departic de lui e non consentic en aquestas cosas, mas tenc la via de pavreta. Mas Costantin se departic cum mooreça de romans en las part dautra lo mar, e aqui hedifique Constantinopoli enayma es e apelle ley del sio nom. Donca daquel temp la resiarcha monte en honore e en degneta, e li mal foron multiplica sobre la terra. Nos non cressen alpostot que la gleysa de dio sia departia maçament de la via de verita dal tot, mas una partia cagit, e la maior part, enayma es usança, trabuche en mal. Mas la part permasa permas per moti temp en aquela verita la cal ilh avia receopu. Enayci la sanctita de la gleysa manque poc a poc; mas enapres 8 cent anç de Costantin se leve un lo propi nom del cal era Piero, enayma yo auvic, mas el era duna region dicta Vaudia. Mas aquest, enayma dion li nostre derant anador, era ric e savi e bon fortment. Donca o el legent, o auvent de li autre, receop las parollas del evangeli, e vende aquellas cosas las el avia e las departic a li pavre e pres la via de pavreta, e prediche e fe deciples, e intre en la cipta de Roma e disputa, derant [f. 238] la resiarcha de la fe e de la religion. Mas en aquel temp era aqui un cardenal de Pulha, lo cal era amic de lui e lauvava la via de lui e la parolla, e amava lui. A la perfin receop respost en la cort que la gleysa romana non poya portar la parolla de lui, ni non volia habandonar la via acomença. E dona a si sentencia fo fayt fora la sinagoga. Nent de ment el meseyme predicant en la cipta fey plusors deciples. E facent camin per las regions da Ytalia fe aiostament enayci que en plusors parç niutreron moti en la lor conversacion, tant el meseyme cant li sucessor de lui, e foron forment multiplica; car lo poble auvia lor volentier, emperço que la parolla de verita fossa en la boca de lor, e demostresan via de salu. E multipliqueron tant que soven-dierament saiostesan en li lor conselh alcuna veç 8 cent, alcuna veç mil, alcuna veç mot poc. Dio obrava merevilhas per lor, enayma nos aven de plusors li cal parlan volentie verita; mas

aquestas obras fructuosas dureron per les paçis de (dui)¹ cent an, enayma es demostra per li velh. A la perfin, levant se lenvidia del satanaç e la maligneta de li fellon, persecucion non peta es va entre li serf de Dio, e degiteron lor de region en region; e la crudelleta de lor persevera entro ara contra nos. E cum aquestas cosas scayan enaysi, consideren li temp li cal trapasseron devant lavenament de Xⁱ. Car ilh foron umbra e figura daquisti temp, lo cal [f. 239] durare de Xⁱ entro a la fin del segle. Nos non troben en las scripturas del velh testament que de Abram entro a Xⁱ la lucerna de verita e de sanctita sia unca daltot en alcun temp alpostot steynta; mas permasceron totavia o poc o pro en sancta vita. Ni non legen quilh nenguesan unca a defalhir deltot. Enaysi ac' pense que del temp de Xⁱ entro ara sia entre nengu enaquel meseyme modo. E enaysi cresen que sia avenir entro a la fin. Que del temp al cal la gleysa fo founça entro a la fin del segle, la gleysa de Dio non defalhire enaysi del tot que la non sia totavia alcun de li sant, o en las terras, o en algunas regions de la terra. Car *lo son de lor issic en tota la terra*. E la maior part de la gleysa de Dio crec al començament en las regions dautra lo mar. Dont es desser stima en alcuna maniera que otra lo mar e de aquesta partia del mar la lucerna de li sant sia nengua alpostot auniet per alcun temp. Car li nostre frayre en li temp antic cum ilh aguessan trapassa lo mar per una persecucion atroberon li frayre en una region; mas car ilh mesconoysian lo lengaie daquela region, non pogron aver compaignia cum lor ni demostrar fermeça entre lor, enayma ilh agran fait volentier, e se departiron dentre lor. Entre aquestas cosas pensen la prophecia de Jeremia: *Baron de li prever de levetienc meos menistres non perire de la mia facia, lo cal uffra holocaust e embrase sacrafici e aucia vedeoç per tuit li dia*. Aquesta promession de Dio es dicta sobre la sancta gleysa. Car li dit de li propheta expiravan a Xⁱ e a la gleysa. Donca veian calcosas dia, que de Xⁱ entro a la [f. 240] fin del segle baron non perire, menistre de Xⁱ, lo cal uffra holocaust e vedeoç e sacrifici per tuit li dia. Que calque cal son, membre del sobeyran prever per sanctita de vita, uffron hostias speritals a

¹ This word has been partly erased.

Dio sobre lautar de la fe entro en cuey. E se ilh non son moti, emperço la prophesia non ment; car el non di: *Barons non periren*, mas: *Di baron de li prever non perire de la mia facia*, lo cal faça aquestas cosas en aquelas. O karissime, considera; car la luna ja sia ço quilh sia iusta venir amenç de la soa pleneta, mas emperço totavia es luna. E silh es scurçia per algunas tenebras e non apereysa a li olh de liome, emperço ilh es totavia luna; en la soa substancia, enayma nos cressen, dautra maniera Dio faria luna per chascun mes. Mas lescritura de que Dio cree aquesta luna del començament. Donca pensen lo dit de David: *El fey luna en temp*, ço es en mermament e en renovellament. E la luna a figura sovendierament la gleysa, la cal regna alcun veç en moteça de sant en aquest mont; e alcuna veç es iusta a mancamment. Donca si la gleysa es casi defalhia, enayma la luna, que se part per lenvidia del septanaç e per la superbia de li fellon e per la negligencia de plusors, e mootas greos tribullacions e persecucions, si mays que non cressan ley en algunas regions del mont totavia esser, permasa en la pavreta de li sant, e en bona vita e sancta conversacion. Car Salomon parlla per sperit de prophesia diçent: *Cant li fellon multipliqueren se levaren, e li iust sere scondren; e cum ilh seren peri, e li iust multipliqueren*. Nos pensen a.....

Here the text breaks off, and ff. 241—243 are wanting to complete the sheet.

D contains no indication of a date, as far as I have examined, but the headings of the eight divisions of the *Exposition of Christian Doctrine* are worth noticing, though, from the mutilation of the volume, only three chapters now remain. The prologue enumerates these divisions thus:

“Donca prumierament nos diren breoment coma la ley del veray Dio e veray home Yh^u Xⁱ per si sola es suficient a la salu de tota la generacion humana, E es plus breo e plus comuna e plus legiera a complir, e es ley de perfeita liberta, a la qual non bisogna aiogner ni mermar alcuna cosa, E non es alcuna cosa de ben la qual non sia suficientment enclusa en aquella meseyma soa ley. Segondariament diren de la sancta fe catholica, la qual se conten en li article e en li sacrament e

en li comandament de Dio. 3^ament diren de la vera e de la falsa penitencia e de la vera confession e de la satisfacion. La 4^a diren alcuna cosa del vero purgatori e segur e de la falseta e meçonia se me^a sobre lui. La 5^a diren de la envocacion de li sant e de li horror sobre seme^a. La 6^a diren de la auctorita pastoral dona de Dio a li sacerdot de Xⁱ. La 7^a diren de las clavs apostolicas donas de Yh^u Xⁱ a sant Peyre e a li autre seo veray successor. La 8^a diren de las veras endulgencias.” fol. 81.

In Ch. 2, the sacraments are enumerated thus:

“Sept son li sacrament de la sancta gleysa. Lo prumier es lo batisme lo qual es dona a nos en remesion de pecca. Lo .2. es la penitencia. Lo .3. es la cumunion del cors e del sanc de Xp^t. Lo .4. es lo matrimoni ordena de Dio. Lo .5. es loli sant. Lo .6. es lenpusament de las mans. Lo .7. es ordenament de preyres e de diaques.” fol. 88^b.

To sum up then, briefly; after the most important fact—the determination of the true date of the *Nobla Leyçon*—the primary result gained from the recovery of these manuscripts, and a comparison of them with what we already know of others of the kind, is, that, besides the Dublin collection, all of which seem to have been written in the 16th century, we have two miscellaneous volumes at Geneva (MSS. 207 and 209) and four at Cambridge (ABCD), as well as more than one copy of the New Testament, all assignable to the 15th century; and in addition to these, at Cambridge and at Grenoble, one incomplete and one complete copy of the New Testament, which may be ascribed to the close of the 14th century. It is a small collection, doubtless; but it is a very precious one, even though not carrying us back to the 10th and 12th centuries, as we were led to expect; and it is much to be hoped that the authorities at our University Press will soon offer some encouragement towards bringing out a careful edition of at least the most important treatises in the collection. Whatever Cromwell and his friends were politically, it is at least certain that, as a literary body, we owe them a debt which it would take us a long time to repay, and which at present we refuse to acknowledge even in our annual commemoration of benefactors. We

have for two hundred years ignored both the gift and the giver, and it is time that we should begin to make some reparation.

[NOTE. Sept. 1862. I have just received the welcome news from Dr Todd, that he intends to republish, in a separate form, the Catalogue of the Ussher Collection of Waldensian MSS., which he furnished to the British Magazine in 1841. The new volume would contain some remarks on the various points connected with the subject, as well as a detailed description of all the Waldensian MSS. now known to exist in Dublin, Cambridge, Geneva, and elsewhere. H.B.]

II. TWO LISTS OF BOOKS IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY¹.

THE originals of the two lists here printed are contained in a volume in the University Registry. It is a parchment book, in its primitive binding of boards, covered with leather, and lettered in the back "*Registrum Librorum et Scriptorum*, 1473."

The earliest entry is an inventory of goods belonging to the University, made in the reign of Henry V. This occupies the second quire. | The next, in point of time, is the first of these two lists of books, which occupies the third and following quires, and must have been made in or before 1424. The first quire contains the inventory of the Library, and a few other things, made in 1473; and the end of the volume contains a list of documents, &c. in the registry, written by Matthew Wren.

The Catalogue of 1473 explains itself. It contains an account of the Library as it stood just before Rotherham founded the lesser Library. It is very interesting on that account, and it may well be compared with the similar list made exactly a century later by Matthew Stokys, in 1573, just before the great additions made by Abp Parker and his friends. I can only find 19 out of the 330 volumes; but even this small residue, which escaped the violence of the Reformation movement, is enough to maintain the continuity of our Library; and the earlier list carries us still further back. This earlier one is a classified list of books with the donors' names; and as Richard

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Nov. 17, 1862.

Holme died at Cambridge in 1424, and as his will (printed by the Surtees Society) contains no notice of these books¹, it seems reasonable to infer that he gave the books in his lifetime, and that, accordingly, the list was drawn up in or before 1424. One of these books now remaining is a copy of Chaucer's translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, and there are probably very few copies of any of Chaucer's works, of which it can be said, as it may of this, that they have remained in the same house since within so few years of his death. Various additions have been made to this catalogue by different hands, the latest however apparently not later than 1440. I have been at some pains to note these additions by marks which will be readily understood. There are some books still in the Library, given in 1444 by Walter Crome, D.D., which are not contained in this list, and there seems some ground for believing that the Common Library may have been first opened in that year, and that what is here given is an account of the various benefactions made before the Library was ready to receive the books.

Until Professor Willis's book comes out, we must be in uncertainty as to the exact dates of the various University buildings, especially of those on the south side of the quadrangle. But the generally received statement is that the north side was the first part built, containing the Divinity School below, and the Regent House above, and finished in the year 1400; that the south side was next built, containing the Philosophy (now the Law) School below and the Common Library above; and that the west side was commenced next, in 1458; and finally that, chiefly by Rotherham's munificence, the east side or front was finished in 1470, or thereabouts. It is known that King Henry VI. granted some land towards the support of a common Library in 1439, and if we assume that this was finished by 1444, we may look upon the numbers mentioned below as referring to the books given after the opening of the Library on the Feast of St Hugh, 1444. Crome gave on that day a volume of St Augustine (now MS. II. 1. 28), which is said to be *primus liber donatus in ordine*; another is said to be

¹ [See page 53, Additional Remarks.]

secundus; another (now MS. Ii. 3. 9) given on the same day, is called *sextus liber in ordine donatorum*; another (now MS. Ii. 4. 23) is called *decimus &c.*; and in another (now MS. Ii. 4. 39) given 25 June 1452, we find "et est in numero librorum donatorum 93."

It is very difficult to procure absolute documentary proof of these matters, but enough has been said to show that it is not at all impossible that to-day may be the actual anniversary of the first public opening of the University Library, and, as such, a suitable opportunity for laying before the Cambridge Anti-quarian Society these two earliest accounts of the collection.

It will be easy to perceive the leading features of the Library, in spite of the very brief and deceptive form in which the entries are, for the most part, made; as in the first list the books are directly classed under heads; and in the second, though not so classed by name, yet it will be seen that the works are arranged roughly, according to subject, in their respective desks or stalls. It is at any rate clear that the *Libri logicales* and *Libri theologiæ disputatæ* were very far from forming an undue or even large proportion of our Common Library in the fifteenth century, as most people have been persuaded to believe by the constant statements of writers of the present and last generation.

Registrum librorum per varios benefactores comuni librarie
vniuersitatis Cantabr' collat'. [fo. 17^a.]

In primis vna biblia in duobus voluminibus cuius prima pars
continet Genes' Exod' Leuitic' Numeri Deutronom' Josue Judic'
Ruth Regum iiij^{or} Paralipomenon ij^{os} Esdras ij Neemias Thobias
Judith Hester Job Psalterium

et incipit in 2^o. fo. aut cum 1^{ras}

et in penultimo quorum omnes locutum est

Secunda pars continet parabol' salamonis Ecc^asten Cantica canti-
corum Sapi^ales Eccⁱasticum Ysaïam Jeremiam Lamentacoes Jereme
Baruc j^o Ezechielem Danielelem Osee Joel Amos Abdiam Jonam
Michean Naum Abachuc Sophoniam Aggeum Zachariam Maca-
beorum Malachiam Matheum Marcum Lucam Joh^{em} Ad romanos
Ad corintheos Ad galathas Ad ephesios Ad Philippens' Ad colocens'
Ad thessalonicens' Ad thimotheum Ad titum Ad philomonem Ad
hebreos Actus ap^{lorum} Jacobum Petrum Joh^{em} Apocalipsim Interpre-
taciones biblie

et incipit in 2^o. fo. handent semitas

et in penultimo vsen festinans

et fuit hec biblia ex dono Ricⁱ Holmⁱ licenciati in vtroque
iure (301, 302) [1, 2

Item alia biblia in vno volumine cum Interpretacōibus

et incipit in 2^o. fo. suam scripturam

et in penultimo seushi sel m̄s

et fuit hec biblia ex dono Aylemer. (167) [3

Item liber concordanciarum biblie

et incipit in 2^o. fo. nec dum erant abissi

et in penultimo sepeliuit

ex dono Aylemer. (304) [4

Item psalterium cum comuni glosa

et incipit in 2^o. fo. agit hoc modo

et in penultimo eius laudate

ex dono Magistri Roberti Teye. (? 200 or 201) [5

Item doctor de lira in tribus voluminibus Primum continet Pen-

tathacon Josue Judic' Ruth Regum iii^{or} Paralipom' ij^{os} Esdre p^m
Neemie Hester Job Psalterium

et incipit in 2^o. fo. quod inportat

et in penultimo homines in cognicōe

Secundum volumen continet Parabolas Ecc^{ia}sten Cantica Ysaïam
Jeremiam Lamentac' Ezechiel Daniel De susanna De Ydolo nomine
beel Osee Joel Amos Abdiam Jonam Micheam Naum Abachuch
Sephoniam Aggeum Zachar' Malachiam Thobiam Baruch Ep^{lam} Jere-
mie que facit vj cap^{lum} in baruch Judith Macabeorum ij^{os} Sapi^o Ecc^{ia}-
sticum Esdre 2^m

et incipit in 2^o. fo. bus sit adherend'

et in penultimo notus in sapi^a

Tercium volumen continet nouum testamentum et questionem deter-
minatam a doctore de doctore de lira de probacione per scripturas
a Judeis acceptas quod misterium xpⁱ predictum a lege et prophetis
sit impletum et responsionem dict' doctor' ad quendam Judeum ne-
quiter arguentem ex verb' euangelii s' matheum contra xp^m

et incipit in 2^o. fo. cendum esset

et in penultimo sñ q̄ verba

ex dono Ricⁱ Holme.

(157, 158, 170) [6, 7, 8

Item doctor de lira super Ep^{las} Pauli Jacobi Petri Joh^{is} et Jude Item
super Actus Ap^{lorum} et super Apocalipsim

et incipit in 2^o. fo. p^{nt} optari

et in penultimo in quantum humanitas

ex dono Thome Paxtoñ

(163) [9

Item Magister historiarum

et incipit in 2^o. fo. nⁱ a^d sunt

et in penultimo natiuitatem dⁿⁱ

ex dono Aylemer.

(159) [10

Item Allegorie historiarum cum sermonibus multis et cum sermone
Lincoln' qui incipit Q^m cogitacio ho^{is} confitebitur tibi

et incipit in 2^o. fo. feneratores

et in penultimo vniuersum debitum

ex dono M' Nicholai Iue

(156) [11

Item liber in que continentur Gregorius in pastoli^o Omelie eiusdem
Idem super cantica Omelie Joh^{is} Crisostomi in inperfco Tractatus de
viciis et virtutibus Ep^a Augⁱ ad Cirillum de laude Jeronimi Ep^a
Cirilli ad Aug' de eodem Ep^a Aug' ad comitem Aug^{us} de immor-
tate anime

et incipit in 2^o. fo. fugere terrores

et in penultimo sit necesse est

ex dono dⁿⁱ Joh^{is} Prestoñ

(90) [12

Item Wallensis in quo continentur Co'loquium Ordinarium vite religiose Dietarium Locarium Itinerarium Legiloquium De vita ph^{orum} Breuiloquium De pñ^a et eius partibus Collectiloquium De virtutibus De penis Inferni De regul' Francissi De arte recte viuendi et incipit in 2^o. fo. Sextum de iure

et in penultimo debitum

ex dono dⁿⁱ Joh^{is} Prestoñ

(128) [13

Item Aug^{us} de ciuitate dei cum tabula eiusdem et cum retractacōibus eiusdem

et incipit in 2^o. fo. Quippe vicerunt

et in penultimo h^o dixisse

ex dono Ricardi Holme

(102) [14

Item Aug^{us} de mirabilibus sacre scripture Tractatus eiusdem de penis purgatorii Idem de xij abusionibus Testamenta xij patriarcharum s' Lincoln' Sermo Aug' de .x. plagis egipti Aug' de igne purgatorii Idem ad sororem suam viduam de vita xp'iana. Vita scī Thome Cantuariensis cum Ep^{lis} eiusdem

et incipit in 2^o. fo. lonis ascondam

et in penultimo Thomas Interpretatur

ex dono Mag^{ri} Joh^{is} Chirch

(264) [15

Item Summa colleccōnum Wallensis cum floribus Bernardi cum Tabula super flores

et incipit in 2^o. fo. h^{ere}

et in penultimo in tabula Est vitanda

ex dono M' Jacobi Matissale

(? 266) [16

Item Crisostomus in Imperfecto cum tabula

et incipit in 2^o. fo. tabule Ap^{li} luci

et in penultimo rimas hereses

ex dono Thome Paxtoñ

(? 161) [17

Item liber in quo continentur tractatus retho^{cc} s' Thomam de nouo mercato et tractatus de arte predicandi s' Waleys

et incipit in 2^o. fo. penultimam breuem

et in penultimo diligit

ex dono M' Joh^{is} Water

(111) [18

Item Liber Anselmi in quo continetur Monologion Prosologion De concordia et predestinacione cum libero arbitrio Tres epistole eiusdem De casu diaboli De conceptu virginali et liber snīarum s' eundem

et incipit in 2^o. fo. essentia dici

- et in penultimo que in terris
ex dono dⁿⁱ Joh^{is} Paxtoñ (89) [19]
- Item Holcot. super librum sapi^a cum tabula
et incipit in 2^o. fo. propositum
et in penultimo tabule Nichil ita
ex dono M' Will^{mi} Holler' (166) 20
- Item Parisiensis de viciis
et incipit in 2^o. fo. libri pro quo xp^s
et in penultimo Inuenietur stulticia
ex dono M' Jacobi Matissale (86) [21]
- Item sermones dⁿⁱcales Abbavill' cum Raymund'
et incipit in 2^o. fo. tenetur
et in penultimo p^{rem} et m^{rem}
ex dono M' Jacobi Matissale (87) [22]
- Item Legenda s^corum cum diuersis tabulis
et incipit in 2^o. fo. flumina ignea
et in penultimo tempora 3^a
ex dono M' Joh^{is} Water (115) [23]
- Item liber in quo continetur Tractatus de p^{ri}^{is} Omelie per aduentum
moraliza Tractatus M' Ricardi Leycester de diuersis materiis Inno-
cencius de miseria condicionis humane Cotacões ep^{larum} et euange^{orum}
per totum annum
et incipit in 2^o. fo. sperauit
et in penultimo (naturam*) [*added in the margin]
ex dono M' Jacobi Matissale (244) [24]
- Item Fasciculus morum
et incipit in 2^o. fo. Lest ye ofte
et in penultimo tunc lapis
ex dono M' Will^{mi} Holler' (?) [25]
- Item compendium pauperum
et incipit in 2^o. fo. distinctō plura^{tis}
et in penultimo tandē
ex dono dⁿⁱ Joh^{is} Prestoñ (276) [26]
- Item liber in quo continetur Biblia beate Marie Tractatus de gradi-
bus ascencionis in deum Aug^{us} de contemplando deum Hugo de arra-
anime Tractatus qui dicitur Pharetra et tractatus qui incipit Angeli
paci amare flebunt
et incipit in 2^o. fo. micorum suorum demon'
et in penultimo inponebant
ex dono dⁿⁱ Joh^{is} Prestoñ (103) [27]

- Item Sermones dñicales Januensis
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. est habenda
 et in penultimo in tabula pe^{ie} sunt 3^a
 ex dono M' Joh^{is} Water (82) [28]
- Item Sermones Januensis de Sc̃is
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. magis inflammant
 et in penultimo dz fideliter
 ex dono M' Joh^{is} Water (95) [29]
- Item Distinccōes Januensis
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. creaturas
 et in penultimo ypocrita
 ex dono M' Joh^{is} Water (97) [30]
- Item expō super Ecc^{ia}sticum cum questionibus in fine
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. vitandi insidias
 et in penultimo boni. (257) [31]
- *Item Glosa super Epistolas pauli
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. Rote sic'
 et in penultimo in glosa buste sunt igne. (?) [32]
- Item Postilla super Genesim Tobiam Judith Ester Job Ecclesiasten
 sapiencie prouerborum
 incipit in ij^o. fo. quia in montibus
 et in penultimo Si dixerimus (150) [33]
- Item Postilla super libros regum paralipo' Esdre Neemi Josue Judi-
 cum Machabeorum
 incipit in ij^o. fo. gl' .i. lirico
 et in penultimo n^e patrie (? 152) [34]
- Item Postilla super Exodum et Deutronom'
 incipit in ij^o. fo. scribens actus
 et in vltimo querit augustinus (306) [35]
- Item Postilla super Ecclesiasticum et Petrus de remediario conuer-
 sorum
 incipit in ij^o. fo. tina
 et in vltimo multitudo.* (315) [36]
- **Item postilla super apocalipsim
 cui^o 2^m. fo. incipit. de agno
 penulti^m (309) 37
- Item postilla super parabolas salamonis
 c^o 2^m. fo. inc^t in cruce
 penulti^m (296) [38]

Item Summa predicantium

ex dono M. Joh^{is} Thorp

cui⁹ 2^m. fo. inc^t nem e' etiam**

(109) [39]

†Item Greg' in moralibus

ex dono M' Thome kyng vicarii de dunmow†

(? 79) [40]

††Item Petrus de Aurora metrice super bibliam

cui⁹ 2^m. fo. p⁹ prologum sic incipit Sunt viole qui sunt

et in penultimo Noster ab excelso ††

(?) [41]

‡Item Gorham super spalterium

c⁹ 2^m. fo. inci^t Construende

penulti^m Ad glorifica^{onem}

(143) [42]

Item Gregorius super ezechielem Omelie eiusdem lib' pastoralium
lib' dialog' Item de octo vicijs principa^{b^{us}} Item de concordia tes-
ti^{orum} sacre scripture Ome^e bⁱ cesarij epⁱ Monita patris s^ci basilij
Ome^e Eusebij Ome^e eiusdem de paschate lib' bⁱ effrem' Jeronimus
de diuersis nominibus leprarum Ep^{la} eiusdem ad virgines Ep^{la} eius-
dem ad Celanam coniugem Ep^{la} eiusdem ad eustochium virginem
Ep^{la} eiusdem ad eustochium et paulam Augustinus de visitacōe in-
firmorum lib' eiusdem de vita xⁱana Sermo eiusdem de Igne pur-
gatorio

ex dono M' Joh^{is} holbrok

cui⁹ 2^m. fo. inci^t Filios suos

penulti^m tegitur vestimentis

(101) [43]

Item lincolniensis de lingua (^ cum alijs)

ex dono M' Thome Thurkyll

c⁹ 2^m. fo. inci^t bonis omnibus

penult^m v^o Auaricia tandem

(125) 44

Item Mag^r historiarum

ex dono M' Cristofori Kyrkeby

c⁹ 2^m. fo. inci^t occupabant

penulti^m vero Canis qui

(169) [45]

Item M' historiarum

ex dono .N.

c⁹ 2^m. fo. terciē diei

penulti^m v^o *vtique*

(? 154) [46]

Item Notyngham super euangelia

ex dono (^ dⁿⁱ) Joh^{is} parys capellⁱ

c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t -premiorem precipit
penult^m v^o Eius coniungit ‡

(96) [47]

‡‡Item Doctor de lira in tribus voluminibus
ex dono Epⁱ Dunelmens' .s. Ricⁱ Langley quorum primum
incipit in 2^o. fo. *et secundum sanum*
in penultimo *debellantur*

2^m volumen

incipit in 2^o. fo. *et ne diuinitas*
et in pe. *derunt ydumei*

3^m volumen

incipit in 2^o. fo. *in nouo*
et in pe. *est in celis*

(297, 229, 298) [48, 49, 50]

Item Moralitytes Doctoris de lira

ex dono eiusdem

cui^o 2^m. fo. inci^t *est reuersio*
in pe. *mulier viros*

(311) [51]

Item ambrosius super lucam

ex dono Mag^{ri} Nicholai Wpton

et incip^t in 2^o. fo. *Si laborem*
in pen. *carnem et ossa.*

(141) [52]

Item S^cs Thomas Secunda secunde

ex dono M^{ri} Rob^{ti} alne

cui^o 2^m. fo. libri incipit *uidet id*
et in penultimo *proficit aliquis*

(192) [53]

Item Melum contemplatiuorum per Ric^m Hampoll

ex dono eiusdem

cui^o 2^m. fo. incipit *caligine*
et in penultimo *ventores ‡‡*

(66) [54]

Libri Theologie disputate. [fo. 21^a.]

In primis Magister sentenciarum

et incipit in 2^o. fo. mande sunt

et in penultimo viuit vt vult

ex dono Magistri Roberti Teye

(275) [1]

Item media villa super p^m et 2^m sⁿiarum cum tabul'

et incipit in 2^o. fo. per humanam

et in penultimo post mortem

- ex dono M' Nich^{li} Ive (190) [2]
- Item Tharantarius super 3^m et 4^m cum tabul'
et incipit in 2^o. fo. Aut ergo
et in penultimo post mortem
ex dono M' Nicholai Ive (191) [3]
- Item Thomas contra gentiles cum tabula
et incipit in 2^o. fo. inter omnia
et in penultimo sperabat
ex dono dⁿⁱ Joh^{is} Prestoⁿ (? 269) [4]
- Item Boneuenturam super 4^m
et incipit in 2^o. fo. ideo oportuit
et in penultimo 2^o queritur
ex dono Magistri Jacobi Matissale (258) [5]
- Item prima pars summe s^ci Thome cum quodlibetis egidii de esse et
essencia de cognicione angelorum et de mensura angelorum
et incipit in 2^o fo. ad eam non pertinet
et in penultimo quorum est numerus
ex dono Magistri Jacobi Matissale (259) [6]
- Item prima pars summe s^ci Thome
et incipit in 2^o. fo. doctrina est sci^a
et in penultimo uni ad modum
ex dono M' Jacobi Matissale (271) [7]
- *Item colibeta suttoⁿ
incipit in ij^o. fo. agit set
et in penultimo de homine (265) [8]
- Item Albertus super primum et ij^{um}
incipit in ij^o. fo. et exaltacōnem
et in penultimo solum bonum (267) [9]
- Item Albertus super ij^{dum} et quartum
incipit in ij^o. fo. ergo materia
et in penultimo sit illo* (261) [10]
- **Item prima pars summe s^ci Thome
c^o 2^m fo. inc^t enim accipit. &' (268) [11]
- Item Thomas super 4^m.
cui^o 2^m. fo. inc^t recipiencium. &' ** (277) [12]
- ‡Item doctor bakynsthor^p super lib' sⁿarum
ex dono M' Ric' blynⁿforth

- in c^o 2^o. fo. est dare vacuum .i. n^l inuenitur
 penultimo v^o de arte medicine (278) [13]
- Item Altisiodorens' super lib' sū^{arum}
 ex dono Cristofori Kyrkeby
 c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t Flueret
 Penulti^m v^o Exarcit vinea (253) [14]
- Item .S. Thomas super 2^m. 2^e.
 ex dono dⁿⁱ Joh^{is} parys capellⁱ
 c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t habitus virtutum
 penulti^m v^o *utrum conuenitur* ‡ (193) [15]

Libri moralis phi^e. [fo. 24^b.]

- In primis Egidius super Rethoricam Aristotelis Thomas super libros
 Ethicorum et poethicorum
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. sill^{os} et enunciaciones
 et in penultimo cum dicit
 ex dono Magistri Hugonis Parys (60) [1]
- Item Egidius de regi^e principum cum tabula
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. grosse magis
 et in penultimo ferra Q' .s.
 ex dono Thome Paxtoñ (63) [2]
- Item Boecius de consolacione phi^e in latino et Anglico cum exposi-
 cione Will^{mi} medici et cum tabula
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. querimoniam
 et in penultimo mod' omnibus
 ex dono Magistri Joh^{is} Croucher (76) [3]
- Item Boecius de consolacione Phi^e et de Trinitate
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. tabule Bonum finis omnium
 et in penultimo ex p^{ris} substancia
 ex dono dⁿⁱ Thome Paxtoñ (17) [4]
- **Item Albertus super metha^{cam}
 ex dono M' Joh^{is} Scot
 c^o 2^m. fo. (Λ de cor^e libri) inc^t probantur in esse ** (77) [5]

Libri phi^e naturalis. [fo. 28^b.]

- In primis Palladius de Agricultura
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. dicendum
 et in penultimo iacentes
 ex dono Thome Paxton (27) [1]
- Item Textus methe^{ce}
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. maxime scire
 et in penultimo sz non est
 ex dono Magistri Joh^{is} Wraughby (69) [2]
- Item expositio s^ci Thome super xij libros Me^{ce}
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. a^{libus} prudenciam
 et in penultimo dubium
 ex dono Magistri Joh^{is} Wrauby (70) [3]
- Item Tabula natural' phi^e
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. anima
 et in penultimo secundum formam
 ex dono Magistri Nicholai Ive (3) [4]
- Item Textus phisicorum de anima de cognicione de corrupcōe de
 celo et mundo
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. si quid'
 et in penultimo h^o autem
 ex dono M' Joh^{is} Wrauby (44) [5]
- Item Expositio Magistri Walteri Burlee super octo libros phi^{orum}
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. cuiuscumque predi^{ti}
 et in penultimo fi^{ta} requirit
 ex dono M' Joh^{is} Aylemer (51) [6]
- Item Textus natural' phi^e in quo continentur octo libri phi^{orum} de
 celo et mundo Item libri metheororum De generacione et corrup-
 cione De anima De sompno et vigilia De sensu et sensato De
 memoria et reminissencia De lineis De numero De bona fortuna
 De longitudine et breuitate vite De Iuuentute et senectute De
 coloribus De motu animalium De progressu animalium Item de
 milo
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. resoluta
 et in penultimo superinfundit
 ex dono M' Jacobi Matissale (52) [7]

Item Commentum Aueroys super libros phi^{rum}
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. le intelligi^{le}
 et in penultimo et v^{liter}
 ex dono M' Jacobi Matissale (46) [8]

*Item Antonius super Metha^{cam}
 incipit in ij^o. fo. vt ens et vnum
 et in penultimo eius sub^{a*} (65) [9]

‡Item Burley super lib' de Anima cum alijs tractatibus
 ex dono M. Joh^{nis} Smethes quondam vic' de castre
 c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t consideratur
 penulti^m dic^t ph^s‡ (43) [10]

‡‡Item Textus problematum Ar^{lis} cum alijs
 ex dono M. Rob^{ti} alne
 cui^o 2^m. fo. inci^{it} *erit et non vna*
 et in penultimo *Item ad perpetuam* (56) [11]

Item petrus paduwanens' super problemata Ar^{lis}
 ex dono eiusdem
 cui^o 2^m. fo. incipit *et valentem*
 et in penultimo *tosum* ‡‡ (58) [12]

Libri medicinalis phi^e. [fo. 33^a.]

In primis liber in quo continetur Galienus de complexionibus
 Galienus de malicia complexionis Joh^{es} Damascenus de inpressioni-
 bus in alto quid' tractatus Galienus de simplici medico Galienus
 de creticis diebus Galienus de Crisi Galienus de interioribus
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. ver tempus
 et in penultimo minus poterit
 ex dono M' Joh^{is} Tesdale (29) [1]

Item liber in quo continentur Galienus super pronostica ypocratis
 Comentum eiusdem super libro amphi^{rum} ypocratis Expositio super
 librum regimenti acutorum morborum ypocratis Galienus de ingenio
 sanitatis
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. cognicio
 et in penultimo cētatibus
 ex dono M' Joh^{is} Tesdal (32) [2]

Item liber in quo continentur tres libri canonis Auicenne cum libro Serapionis

et incipit in 2^o. fo. Accipe stipit'

et in penultimo minorat ex virtute

ex dono M' Joh^{is} Tesdale

(? 36) [3

Item Rasis in Almasorio cum quo sunt diuisiones Rasys Antitadarius Rasys de dolore capitis Rasys de passionibus uicturarum De passionibus puerorum Idem liber experimentorum cum exposicōe difficilium dictionum Rasys in Almasorio

et incipit in 2^o. fo. et virge

et in penultimo Allemdia

ex dono M' Joh^{is} Tesdale

(24) [4

Item liber in quo continentur Galienus de morbo et acti^{te} Amphorisi^l damasceni cum commento ysodori solectorium Aueroy Libellus Aueroy de tirriatis Auicenna de viribus cordis et medicinis cordialibus Cantic' Auicenne cum com^{to} Aueroy liber 4^{tus} methe^{orum} Egidius de vrinis cum commento

et incipit in 2^o. fo. quot sunt

et in penultimo sentitur grauedo

ex dono M' Joh^{is} Tesdale.

(23) [5

Libri logice. [fo. 35^b.]

Textus logice in quo continentur liber porfirij predicamentorum peryarmonias .vj. principiorum diuisionum Topicorum Boecij Elencorum Topicorum Aristotelis Priorum et Posteriorum

et incipit in 2^o. fo. q^d quid est tundendum est

ex dono M' Jacobi Matissale

(59) [1

Libri Poetrie. [fo. 37^b.]

†Libri Sophisticales. [fo. 39^a.]

Item in primis j^o liber in quo continetur liber consequenciarum Ferebrigg' cum hystebery cum alijs

c^o. 2^m. fo. inci^b Capitulum

penulti^m v^o tarde alterabitur†

(2) [1

Libri gramaticales. [fo. 39^b.]

Hugucio

et incipit in 2^o. fo. est vel optime

et in penultimo duobus vt quis

ex dono dⁿⁱ Thome Paxtoñ

(18) [1

‡ Item vn^o liber in quo continetur porphirius cum alijs libris veteris
logic' et in eodem libro Prec' in minori cum a^lisc^o 2^m. fo. s^c inci^t Sit spe^spenulti^m v^o Gradatim pergens

(6) [2

Item Prec' in maiori

c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t Queraturpenulti^m temperarent

(9) [3

Item liber (^ lucanus s.) de bell' romanis

c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t In se magnapenulti^m At t'

(5) [4

Item Prec' in ma^{ri} et minori

ex dono Kendale

c^o 2^m. fo^m. p^o prohe^m inci^t Significaciopenulti^m vero Inquisitiā verba

(7 1) [5

Item petrus hel' in ma^{ri} et minori

ex dono eiusdem Kendale

c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t Substan^{am}penulti^m v^o vitabit lingua mea

(8) [6

Westhawe.‡

Libri Cronicales. [fo. 42^a.]Libri Juris Canonici. [fo. 44^b.]

Liber decretorum

et incipit in 2^o. fo. textus Senatus

et in penultimo saporis

ex dono M' Ricardi Holme

(221) [1

- Item Archidiaconus in Rosario
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. enim ponitur
 et in penultimo 1^a plana
 ex dono Mⁱ Ricardi Holme (213) [2]
- Item Speculum Judiciale
 et incipit in fo. vnic' .c. vnico
 et in penultimo ic. Si quis in a^o
 ex dono Mⁱ Joh^{is} Aylemer (? 179) [3]
- Item Reporto^m Duranti cum li^o card^{is} Bartholomei Bryxens' et summa
 de officio aduocatorum
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. vt ex^a
 et in pe^o quia in rebus
 ex dono Mⁱ Joh^{is} Aylemer (177) [4]
- Item decretales cum constitucionibus Innocencij pape .iiij. et consti-
 tucionibus Nicholai
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. rentur peruenire in textu
 et in penultimo suis que in ecc^{iam}
 ex dono Mⁱ Ricardi Holme (243) [5]
- Item Joh^{es} in Nouella in duobus voluminibus super decretales p^a pars
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. Aliquibus vtilibus
 et in penultimo tunc enim
- Secunda pars
 incipit in 2^o. fo. nichil exigat
 et continet in fine tractatum Joh^{is} de lig^{no} super arbore consanguini^{tis}
- Item Summa Joh^{is} Andree super libro decretalium Item Distinc-
 cōes Joh^{is} Sald' super decretalibus Item scripta dⁿⁱ Thome Paxtoñ
 et Petri Flandrini super c^o vt circa de eleccōibus libro .vj. Item
 tractatum dⁿⁱ Frederici de Senis super materia permutacōis Item
 formam appellandi in beneficia^{bus} secundum stilum curie romane.
 Item minorica bartholi super regul' et statu fratrum minorum
 et incipit in vltimo fo. decedens
 ex do^o Mⁱ Ricⁱ Holme (216, 207) [6, 7]
- Item liber sextus decretalium cum tribus doctoribus et cum dyno
 super regul' Juris
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. vicecancellarium
 et in penultimo regula optinet
 ex dono Ricⁱ Holme (210) [8]
- Item Joh^{es} in Nouella super sexte
 et incipit in 2^o. fo. hic Archid'
 et in penultimo Marth' quesiuisti

- ex dono Ricⁱ Holme () [9]
Item liber decretorum
et incipit in textu in 2^o. fo. nⁱ quirites
et in penultimo prohibeatur
ex dono Thome de castro Bernardi (235) [10]
Item Decretales
et incipit in 2^o. fo. mento altaris
et in penultimo statutum est
ex dono eiusdem (230) [11]
Item Hostiensis in summa
et incipit in 2^o. fo. tres legis
et in penultimo re .ui.
ex dono Ricⁱ Holme (234) [12]
Item Joh^{es} in collectaria
et incipit in 2^o. fo. infctam
et in penultimo vxorem alterius
ex dono Ricⁱ Holme (247) [13]
Item Decretales
et incipit in 2^o. fo. textus carne
et in penultimo impendant
ex dono Mⁱ Joh^{is} Thornell (226) [14]
Item Joh^{is} in Nouella super decretales in duobus voluminibus P^m
incipit in 2^o. fo. rari auctorem
et in penultimo firmant'
Secunda pars
incipit in 2^o. fo. creare solet
et in penultimo in fi, cui sper'
ex dono Mⁱ Joh^{is} Aylemer (217, 225) [15, 16]
Item Joh^{es} in Nouella super sexto
et incipit in 2^o. fo. ad partem
et in penultimo proidi
ex dono eiusdem (224) [17]
Item Innocencius super decretales
et incipit in 2^o. fo. de rerum di
et in penultimo vt diximus
ex dono Ricⁱ Holme (245) [18]
Item liber Clementinarum
et incipit in 2^o. fo. in textu Fidei
et in penultimo in altera dioc'
ex dono Mⁱ Joh^{is} Aldewyk. (231) [19]
B. 3

‡Item Speculum Judiciale

c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t vacante

penulti^m vero Et pro^r C. del'.

(249) [20]

Item Glosa Joh^{nis} de Antona super consti^bus Octoni et Octoboni

c^o 2^m. fo. inci^t micis mortalibus

penulti^m suo marc' precedat

(? 219) [21]

Item vn^o doctor super decretalia

c^o 2^m. fo^m. inci^t *Reeligere*

penulti^m *determinacōem* ‡

(? 248) 22

‡‡Item Archidiaconus in rosario

ex dono M^{ri} Rob^{ti} Alne

cui^o 2^m. fo. *et euangelica in*

pe. *moraliter* ‡‡

(223) [23]

2.

¶ Registrum M^{ri} Radulphi Songer et Ricⁱ Cokeram Procuratorum Cant' compilatum A^o dⁿⁱ Mil^{mo} CCCC^{mo} lxx^o tercio. [fo. 1^a.]

¶ In primo staulo co^{is} librerie in parte boriali continentur xix^{clm} libri quorum primus est

Prescianus

cuius 2^m. fo. diffiniunt (? Gram. 5) [1]

Libr' Sophestrie ffeerebrigg

cuius 2^m. fo. ca^m et (Soph. 1) [2]

Libr' Tabula super veterem lo^{cam}

c 2^m. fo. de anima (Nat. Phil. 4) [3]

Libr' Memoriale Juniorum

c 2^m. fo. In quinta [4]

Libr' vo^r Lucanus de bellis romanorum

c 2^m. fo. In se magna (Gram. 4) [5]

Libr' Purphirius

c 2^m. fo. sit species (Gram. 2) [6]

Libr' Ouidius de transformatis

c 2^m. fo. nil renouatis [7]

Libr' vocatur Petrus helias in magno et minori

c 2^m. fo. substantia (Gram. 6) [8]

Libr' Precianus in ma^{ri}

c 2^m. fo. queratur discretis (Gram. 3) [9]

Libr' Pres' de 4^{or} partibus

c. 2^m. fo. huius [10]

Libr' Burley super Purphu^m cum aliis

c 2^m. fo. conceptus rei [11]

Libr' Claudianus

cuius 2^m. fo. cerabies [12]

Libr' Cornubiens de octo partibus 9^{ouâtie}

cuius 2^m. fo. vbicumque [13]

Libr' Exposições parciū difficilium prologorum

c 2^m. fo. Rego gis [14]

Libr' Donatus Cornubiensis

c 2^m. fo. abboteca [15]

Libr' Januensis in suo Catholicoñ	
c 2 ^m . fo. O in V mutatur	[16]
Libr' Boicius de consolacōne	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. bonum finis	(Mor. Phil. 4) [17]
Libr' Hugucio	
c 2 ^m . fo. est vel	(Gram. 1) [18]
Libr' Elimentarium Papie	
c 2 ^m . fo. Inuenimus	[19]
¶ In secundo staulo continentur xxj ^{ti} libri quorum primus est	
Rasis de almaserio	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. necessarij	[20]
Petrus de crescencijs	
c 2 ^m . fo. cuiuslibet generis	[21]
Constantinus in viaticis	
c 2 ^m . fo. morbos	[22]
Galienus de morbo	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. quot sunt	(Med. 5) [23]
Rasis in almaserio	
c 2 ^m . fo. et v ^{ge}	(Med. 4) [24]
Auerroys in medicinis	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. et quia	[25]
Lilium medicine	
c 2 ^m . fo. cum fetore	[26]
Palladius	
c 2 ^m . fo. nec ieiuna	(? Nat. Phil. 1) [27]
Sentencie tegni galieni	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. compositus	[28]
Galienus in multis libris	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. ver tempus	(Med. 1) [29]
Passiones messway	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. de luperis	[30]
Questiones super tegnay	
c 2 ^m . fo. primo modo	[31]
Comentum Galieni	
c 2 ^m . fo. cognicō	(Med. 2) [32]
Theorica Constantini	
c 2 ^m . fo. discordabant	[33]
Compendium medicinale	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. innaturalem	[34]

Quinque libri auicenne	
c 2 ^m . fo. theorica	[35]
3 ^{es} libri canonis auic'	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. deracōem	(? Med. 3) [36]
Egregius arcium liberalium medicine	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. depascōi	[37]
Addiciones mesue	
c 2 ^m . fo. virtutem	[38]
Exposicō Johan ^a cum questionibus	
c 2 ^m . fo. cum tenetis	[39]
Johan ^a Alexandri	
c 2 ^m . fo. sui causas	[40]

¶ In 3^o staulo continentur xviiij libri quorum primus est

Albertus de anima	
c 2 ^m . fo. animarum	[41]
Scharp de anima	
c 2 ^m . fo. Intellina monet	[42]
Burley de anima	
c 2 ^m . fo. consideratur	(Nat. Phil. 10) [43]
Textus phi ^e naturalis	
c 2 ^m . fo. siquidem	(Nat. Phil. 5) [44]
Textus de animalibus	
c 2 ^m . fo. lacimus edenchia	[45]
Auyreys super phi ^{corum} libros	
c 2 ^m . fo. le intelli ^e	(Nat. Phil. 8) [46]
Ysiderus in ethimologiis	
c 2 ^m . fo xpc ipse	[47]
Dubultoñ in to ^a phi ^a	
c. 2 ^m . fo. extra inte ^m	[48]
Textus noue logice	
c 2 ^m . fo. de vno dicuntur	[49]
Egidius de regimine principum	
c 2 ^m . fo. sciendum est	[50]
Burley super libros phi ^{corum}	
c 2 ^m . fo. cujuscumque predi ^{ti}	(Nat. Phil. 6) [51]
Textus phi ^e naturalis	
c 2 ^m . fo. resoluta adinuicem	(Nat. Phil. 7) [52]
Albertus de natura locorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. que sunt cause	[53]

*Orosius de oronusida mundi		
c 2 ^m . fo. ardentem malis		[54]
Albertus super libros phisicorum		
cuius 2 ^m . fo. esse competit		[55]
Aristotelis naturalia problemata		
cuius 2 ^m . fo. erit et non vna	(Nat. Phil. 11)	[56]
Franciscus de remedijs vtriusque fortune		
c 2 ^m . fo. nomina		[57]
Problemata Aristotelis		
c 2 ^m . fo. valentem	(Nat. Phil. 12)	[58]
¶ In 4 ^{to} staulo continetur xix libri quorum primus est		
Textus logice		
c 2 ^m . fo. quod quid	(Log. 1)	[59]
Exposicō moral' phi ^e		
c 2 ^m . fo. silogismos	(Mor. Phil. 1)	[60]
Tabula politicorum		
c 2 ^m fo. tabilia		[61]
Ep ^{le} senece		
cuius 2 ^m . fo. quocienscumque 1 ^{ras}		[62]
Egidius de regimine principum		
c 2 ^m . fo. grosse magis	(Mor. Phil. 2)	[63]
Textus Ethicorum		
cuius 2 ^m . fo. oz autem		[64]
Antonius super metha ^{ca}		
cuius 2 ^m . fo. vt ens	(Nat. Phil. 9)	[65]
Aristotelis de secretis secretorum		
c 2 ^m . fo. caliginem	(Theol. 54)	[66]
Tryuet super libros Boecij		
c 2 ^m . fo. dorrice		[67]
Tabularum optimarum		
c 2 ^m . fo. esse c ^{am}		[68]
Textus metha ^{ce}		
cuius 2 ^m . fo. maxime scire	(Nat. Phil. 2)	[69]
Thomas super metha ^{cam}		
c 2 ^m . fo. animalibus	(Nat. Phil. 3)	[70]
Glosa co ^{is}		
c 2 ^m . fo. auferat		[71]
Manupulus cronicorum		
c 2 ^m . fo. set comparacōe		[72]

Tonale musicale

c 2^m. fo. Inter quot [73]

Retho^{ca} tullij

c 2^m. fo. mo cum [74]

Alexander super metha^{cam}

c 2^m. fo. quod voco [75]

*Boecius de consolacōe

c 2^m. fo. querimoniam (Mor. Phil. 3) [76]

Albertus super metha^{cam}

c 2^m. fo. probatur in esse. (Mor. Phil. 5) [77]

¶ In 5^{to} staulo continentur 26 libri quorum primus est

Glosa co^{is} super 5 libros Salo^{is}

c 2^m. fo. memoriam virtutum [78]

Gregorius in moralibus

c 2^m. fo. cibum (Theol. 40) [79]

Distinccōnum Linc'

cuius 2^m. fo. au' homo [80]

Tractatus de donis

c 2^m. fo. dicebat [81]

Januensis in dⁿⁱcalibus

c 2^m. fo. est habunda (Theol. 28) [82]

Ric^{us} de sancto victore

c 2^m. fo. set h' in hijs [83]

Januensis super opus quadragesimale

c 2^m. fo. ad hec [84]

Bernardus de diligendo d^m

c 2^m. fo. testimonis [85]

Pariciensis de vicijs

c 2^m. fo. pro quo (Theol. 21) [86]

Raymundus cum sermonibus dⁿⁱcalibus

c 2^m. fo. tenetur (Theol. 22) [87]

Lactancius de falsa religione

c 2^m. fo. permixta [88]

Ancelmus

cuius 2^m. fo. essencia (Theol. 19) [89]

Sancti gregorij de pastoralis cura

c 2^m. fo. fugere (Theol. 12) [90]

Armachanus de pauperie xpⁱ

c 2^m. fo. quam (Crome 2) [91]

Augustinus lxxxij. q ^o num	
c 2 ^m . fo. erunt	[92]
Distinccōnum mauricij	
c 2 ^m . fo. abscondit	[93]
Pariciensis de sacramentis	
c 2 ^m . fo. qui	[94]
Januensis de sc̄is	
c 2 ^m . fo. magis	(Theol. 29) [95]
Notyngham super euangelia	
c 2 ^m . fo. premiorum	(Theol. 47) [96]
Distinccōes Januensis de ordine predicatorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. creaturas	(Theol. 30) [97]
Dicta Lincolniensis cum a ^{ij} s	
c 2 ^m . fo. voluntate	[98]
Isodorus de ortu et obitu sanctorum patrum ad adam vsque ad stephanum	
c 2 ^m . fo. sacerdos	[99]
*Originalium Augustini	
c 2 ^m . fo. sumus	(Crome) [100]
Gregorius super ezechielem	
c 2 ^m . fo. filios	(Theol. 43) [101]
Augustinus de ciuitate dei	
c 2 ^m . fo. quippe	(Theol. 14) [102]
Beate virginis marie	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. inimicorum suorum.	(Theol. 27) [103]

In 6^{to} staulo continentur libri xxvj.

Recellencis	
cuius 2 ^m fo. sp ^u ale	[104]
Tryuett super	
c 2 ^m . fo. meleche v ^o	[105]
Parisiensis super sc̄os	
c 2 ^m . fo. gradus	[106]
Odo in sermonibus	
c 2 ^m . fo. est	[107]
Athbery [i.e. Lathbury] super trenos	
c 2 ^m . fo. inqt ⁱ e	[108]
Summa predicancium	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. nem est	(Theol. 39) [109]

Repyngdoñ

c 2^m. fo. huius seculi [110]Retho^{ca} Tho^ecuius 2^m. fo. penultimam (Theol. 18) [111]Ep^{le} paulicuius 2^m. fo. xpⁱ d^r [112]Rabanus de 2^a parte psalterijc 2^m. fo. de glorifica^{ne} [113]

Robertus de padway

c 2^m. fo. alterius culpe [114]

Legenda s̄corum

c 2^m. fo. flumina ignea (Theol. 23) [115]Ep^{le} parisiensisc 2^m. fo. nem [116]

Libr' diuersorum sermonum

c 2^m. fo. relinquend' [117]Sermones dⁿⁱcalesc 2^m. fo. sine qua [118]

Postille super eziehelem

c 2^m. fo. oracōes imperf̄cas [119]

Tomiloquium Wallensi

c 2^m. fo. operis coniugal' [120]

Pariciens de vicijs

cuius 2^m. fo. autoritatibus [121]

Postilla iordanis

cuius 2^m. fo. statuerunt duos [122]

Prima pars Jordanis super euangelia

c 2^m. fo. ad l^{ram} [123]*Libr' sermonum Augⁱc 2^m. fo. nō n ille (Crome) [124]

Tractatus de lingua

c 2^m. fo. monet ap^{lus} (? Theol. 44) [125]Concordancie super concordancias b^{lie}cuius 2^m. fo. bia [126]

Libr' sermonum

c 2^m. fo. sz [127]

Summa Wallensis

c 2^m. fo. sextum (Theol. 13) [128]

Origenis super genesim

c 2^m. fo. non sit. [129]

In 7^{mo} staulo continentur 24 libri quorum primus est

Glosa super leuiticum	
c 2 ^m . fo. sanguinem eius	[130]
Postilla super lucam	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. o ^o ditur	[131]
Prologus primus in quintum librum doctrinal' ecc ^e xp ⁱ	
c 2 ^m . fo. a sensu	[132]
Hugo de Vihenna super ysaïam	
c 2 ^m . fo. bibliam	[133]
Augustinus de agone xp ⁱ ano et penitencia	
c 2 ^m fo. ducere	[134]
P ^a pars diccōnarij	
c 2 ^m . fo.	[135]
2 ^a pars diccōnarij	
c 2 ^m . fo. prosperitatis	[136]
Tercia pars diccōnarij	
c 2 ^m . fo. labitur	[137]
Quarta pars diccōnarij	
c 2 ^m . fo. salice	[138]
Ep ^{la} fr ^{is} Thome Waldeñ	
c 2 ^m . fo. beacōr	[139]
N ^a glosa super ep ^{las} pauli	
c 2 ^m . fo. ver	[140]
Ambrosius super lucam	
c 2 ^m . fo. si laborem	(Theol. 52) [141]
Postilla super Matheum	
c 2 ^m . fo. sonat	[142]
Liber ympnorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. construende	(Theol. 42) [143]
Liber distinccōnum	
c 2 ^m . fo. lassata	[144]
*Augustinus contra Faustum	
c 2 ^m . fo. n ^r	(Crome) [145]
*Augustinus de doctrina xp ⁱ ana	
c 2 ^m . fo. comperi	(Crome) [146]
Jeronimus super Ezechielem	
c 2 ^m . fo. contempni	[147]
Wallensis super triginta	
c 2 ^m . fo. contra quod	[148]

Waldan

c. 2^m. fo. sⁱ dicant [149]

Postille super genesim

c. 2^m. fo. quia (Theol. 33) [150]

Ep^{le} Augustini

c. 2^m. fo. adme [151]

Postille super li^{os} regum

c. 2^m. fo. (? Theol. 34) [152]

*Omilie origenis

c. 2^m. fo. d^m. (Crome) [153]

In staulo octauo continentur 17 libri quorum primus est

Petrus comestor

c. 2^m. fo. vbique ergo (? Theol. 46) [154]

Augustinus super Tanonicam Johannis

c. 2^m. fo. f^{cus} est [155]

Allogorie Historiarum

c. 2^m. fo. feneratores (Theol. 11) [156]

Postilla super librum psalmorum

c. 2^m. fo. quod inportat (Theol. 6) [157]

Postille de lira

c. 2^m. fo. bus (Theol. 7) [158]

Magister Historiarum

c. 2^m. fo. n^l aliud (Theol. 10) [159]

Omilie grisostini

c. 2^m. fo. leticie [160]

Grisostinus super matheum

c. 2^m. fo. d^o sed (? Theol. 17) [161]

*Augustinus de verb' dⁿⁱ

c. 2^m. fo. O quam bonus (Crome 1) [162]

Pars de lira

c. 2^m. fo. possunt optari (Theol. 9) [163]

Prima pars biblie

c. 2^m. fo. non potuerunt [164]

*Augustinus de q^onibus

c. 2^m. fo. rem (Crome) [165]

Holcot super sapi^{am}

c. 2^m. fo. propositum (Theol. 20) [166]

Biblia

c. 2^m. fo. suam scripturam (Theol. 3) [167]

Sermones Repyngdon̄

c 2^m. fo. misit [168

Histo^a scolastica

c 2^m. fo. ocupabant (Theol. 45) [169

Rno Nichⁱ de lira

c 2^m. fo. cend' (Theol. 8) [170

In primo staulo ex parte australi continentur 15 liⁱ quorum primus est

Porteferium

c 2^m. fo. angelo [171

Barthall' super F no

c 2^m. fo. edi priuatus [172

F no

c 2^m. fo. velit [173

F no

c 2^m. fo. neque opus [174

F ve

c 2^m. fo. et in primis [175

F no

c 2^m. fo. causa [176

Quoddam volumen in cuius princi^o continentur brocardica b' brix cum alijs

c 2^m. fo. vt ex^a (Jur. Can. 4) [177

Cynus

c 2^m. fo. tunc [178

Will^{mus} in speculo

c 2^m. fo. vnccōe (! Jur. Can. 3) [179

*Collaccōes

c 2^m. fo. nā [180

*Gestum vetus

c 2^m. fo. cato [181

*Cynus

c 2^m. fo. et in furto [182

*Codex

c 2^m. fo. in rēa [183

*F in for

c 2^m. fo. alterius [184

Doctor super F^{ve}
c 2^m. fo. puniri

[185]

In secundo desco continentur 17 libri quorum primus est

Johannes de lingnasio

c 2^m. fo. n¹

(Jur. Can. 7) [207]

Liber decretorum

c 2^m. fo. sub eodem

[208]

Libr' parui voluminis

c 2^m. fo. igitur

[209]

Apparatus dⁿⁱ digni in 6^{to}

c 2^m. fo. vicecancellarium

(Jur. Can. 8) [210]

*Liber 6^{us} decretalium

c 2^m. fo. et alijs

[211]

Apparatus innocencij

c 2^m. fo. fructibus

[212]

Rosarium archidiaconi

c 2^m. fo. enim ponitur

(Jur. Can. 2) [213]

*Libr' F^{noui}

c 2^m. fo. nunciacōem

[214]

Septulum

c 2^m. fo. 2^a petri 2^o

[215]

Prima pars Joh^{is} nouvelle

c 2^m. fo. aliquibus

(Jur. Can. 6) [216]

2^a pars Joh^{is} nouvelle

c 2^m. fo. autorem

(Jur. Can. 15) [217]

Lectura abbatis

c 2^m. fo. probiliter

[218]

Glo^a Joh^{is} de Attona super constitu^{bus}

c 2^m. fo. duorum

(? Jur. Can. 21) [219]

Summa Raymundi

c 2^m. fo. ex de

[220]

*Apparatus decretorum

c 2^m. fo. senatus

(Jur. Can. 1) [221]

Lynwode

c 2^m. fo. ice ub

[222]

Archidiaconus in rosario

c 2^m. fo. et euang'

(Jur. Can. 23) [223]

In 3^o desco continentur 14 liⁱ quorum primus est

Joh ^{es} in nouella super 6 ^m librum decretalium	
c 2 ^m . fo. ad partem	(Jur. Can. 17) [224]
Nouella Joh ^{is} an super 9 ^{li} ^{os} decretalium	
c 2 ^m . fo. creatura solet	(Jur. Can. 16) [225]
Decretalia	
c 2 ^m . fo. si carne	(Jur. Can. 14) [226]
Ostiensis in lectura	
c 2 ^m . fo. temporatum	[227]
Ostiensis	
c 2 ^m . fo. declarat	[228]
Petrus in salinis	
c 2 ^m . fo. magest'o	[229]
Constitu ^{es} N pape	
c 2 ^m . mento	(Jur. Can. 11) [230]
Constitu ^{es} clementine	
c 2 ^m . fo. fidei	(Jur. Can. 19) [231]
Petrus de salinis	
c 2 ^m . fo. etat'	[232]
Tabula marciiani super decre ^{lia}	
c 2 ^m . fo. quid abbas	[233]
Summa de titul' decre ^{lium}	
c 2 ^m . fo. 3 ^{es} leges	(Jur. Can. 12) [234]
Textus decretorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. n ⁱ q ⁱ rites	(Jur. Can. 10) [235]
Apparatus archidiaconi	
c 2 ^m . fo. et 1 ^a	[236]
Innocencius super decretale	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. de quibus	[237]

In quarto desco continentur 14 liⁱ quorum primus est

Antiquitatum liber	
c 2 ^m . fo. de cetero	[238]
Johannes in addiccōibus	
c 2 ^m . fo. non recipiat	[239]
Textus decretorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. cum illi	[240]

Glo ^a super clement'	
c 2 ^m . fo. gregoriani	[241]
Tabula iuris	
c 2 ^m . fo. abbolucō	[242]
*Consti ^{es} N	
c 2 ^m . fo. tentur	(Jur. Can. 5) [243]
Tractatus de pñi ^a	
c 2 ^m . fo. sperauit	(Theol. 24) [244]
Innocensius super decre ^{les}	
c 2 ^m . fo. de rerum	(Jur. Can. 18) [245]
*Racio ^{le} diuinorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. gum servitur	(Salle) [246]
Joh ^{es} gaufridus	
c 2 ^m . fo. infra	(Jur. Can. 13) [247]
c 2 ^m . fo. negligere	(? Jur. Can. 22) [248]
Apparatus dñi digni in 6 ^{to}	
c 2 ^m . fo. vacante	(Jur. Can. 20) [249]
Liber 6 ^{tus} decretalium	
c 2 ^m fo. n̄ra	[250]
Apparatus Joh ^{is} andree	
c 2 ^m . fo. seu oīo	[251]
In 5 ^{to} desco continentur 27 li ⁱ quorum primus est	[Fo. 3 ^b]
Mag ^r super libros sentenciarum	
c 2 ^m . fo. videlicet	[252]
Magister Will ^{mus} Teall	
c 2 ^m . fo. fluerat	(Theol. disp. 14) [253]
Tabula reductorij moral'	
c 2 ^m . fo. acquirere	[254]
Reductorium morale	
c 2 ^m . fo. sexta	[255]
Exp ^o super iij ^{or} libros senten ^{arum}	
c 2 ^m . fo. dies	[256]
Quedam expo ^o super ecc ^a sticum	
c 2 ^m . fo. vitande	(Theol. 31) [257]
Bonouentura super 4 ^m senten ^{arum}	
c 2 ^m . fo. ideo	(Theol. disp. 5) [258]

Egidius de mensura angelorum cuius 2 ^m . fo. adeam	(Theol. disp. 6) [259]
Expo ^o super 4 ^m sentenciarum c 2 ^m . fo. dux oīm	[260]
Albertus super iiij ^{tam} senten ^{arum} c 2 ^m . fo. ergo	(Theol. disp. 10) [261]
Tarentasius super 4 ^m c 2 ^m . fo. samaritanus	[262]
Dicta Lincolni' c 2 ^m . fo. commisit	[263]
Legendi b ^{ti} thome c 2 ^m . fo. lonis	(Theol. 15) [264]
Suttoñ c 2 ^m . fo. agit	(Theol. disp. 8) [265]
Collecções Wallensis c 2 ^m . fo. debent	(? Theol. 16) [266]
Albertus super primum et 3 ^m sentenciarum c 2 ^m . fo. et exaltat'	(Theol. disp. 9) [267]
Sēus Thomas in prima parte summe c 2 ^m . fo. enim	(Theol. disp. 11) [268]
Franciscus de maronis c 2 ^m . fo. inter omnia	(? Theol. disp. 4) [269]
Sēus Thomas super j ^m sentenciarum c 2 ^m . fo. instant	[270]
Thomas super primum c 2 ^m . fo. doctrina	(Theol. disp. 7) [271]
Bedly super ep ^{las} cano ^{cas} c 2 ^m . fo. vt prop.	[272]
Boecius consolacōis c 2 ^m . fo. ma apud	[273]
Augustinus super septem li ^{os} qu ^o num c 2 ^m . fo. tue gratuletur	[274]
Magister sentenciarum c 2 ^m . fo. amande	(Theol. disp. 1) [275]
Compendium pauperis c 2 ^m . fo. distinccō	(Theol. 26) [276]
Summa sēi Thome de aliquo c 2 ^m . fo. recipiencium	(Theol. disp. 12) [277]
Bacunthor̄p c 2 ^m . fo. vtrum sic	(? Theol. disp. 13) [278]

In 6 ^{to} desco continentur 21 libri quorum primus est	[Fo. 3 ^a]
Jeronimus in ep ^{lis}	
c 2 ^m . fo. ramt'	[186]
Glo ^a co ^{is}	
c 2 ^m . fo. filij	[187]
Josaphus in antiquitatibus	
c 2 ^m . fo. deficit'	[188]
Tabula super summam Thome contra gentiles	
c 2 ^m . fo. ad modestam	[189]
Media villa Nich ⁱ Ive super primum et 2 ^m sniarum	
c 2 ^m . fo. per humanam	(Theol. disp. 2) [190]
Tarentazius super 3 ^m . et 4 ^m .	
c 2 ^m . fo. aut' ergo	(Theol. disp. 3) [191]
Secunda 2 ^e	
c 2 ^m . fo. videt	(Theol. 53) [192]
Secunda 2 ^e	
c 2 ^m . fo. habitus	(Theol. disp. 15) [193]
Stephanus cantuariensis super libros regum	
c 2 ^m . fo. psalmi	[194]
Contra adimantum	
c 2 ^m . fo. aut	[195]
Glo ^a super omnes pauli ep ^{las}	
c 2 ^m . fo. noscere	[196]
Exposicō euangeliorum s' Hildebrand	
c 2 ^m . fo. seminat	[197]
Sermo Augustini quod t'me non sunt excercende	
c 2 ^m . fo. pernicioſa	[198]
Glosa super libros biblie	
c 2 ^m . fo. iudaici	[199]
Psalterium cum glo ^a	
c 2 ^m . fo. quia iam	[200]
Jeronimus super psalterium	
c 2 ^m . fo. dirumpamus	[201]
Glo ^a iudicum	
c 2 ^m . fo. ei caleph	[202]
Glosa co ^{is} super matheum et marcum	
c 2 ^m . fo. consilij	[203]
Floretum	
c 2 ^m . fo. i. s' glosam	[204]
B.	4

Gesta romanorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. custodite	[205]
De ciuitate xp ⁱ	
c 2 ^m . fo. renouatum	[206]
In septimo desco continentur 15 ^{cim} quorum primus est	[Fo. 4 ^a]
Hugo de Vienna super sapien ^{les}	
c 2 ^m . fo. sint ergo	[279]
Gorram super Joh ^{em}	
c 2 ^m . fo. causal'	[280]
Prima pars tabule dictorum sci Thome	
c 2 ^m . fo. facit	[281]
2 ^a pars tabule	
c 2 ^m . fo. indesta ^{em}	[282]
3 ^a pars tabule	
c 2 ^m . fo. et idem	[283]
Hugo de Vienna super apocalipsim	
c 2 ^m . fo. sed xp ^{us}	[284]
Hugo de Vienna super libros trenorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. q ^o Jerimias	[285]
Gorram super lucam	
c 2 ^m . fo. vocandus	[286]
Hugo de Vienna super lucam	
c 2 ^m . fo. ta ecce	[287]
Opus Magistri Will ⁱ Milington contra peykok	
c 2 ^m . fo. actenus obligatur	[288]
Gorram super matheum	
c 2 ^m . fo. imploranda	[289]
Hugo de Vienna super matheum	
c 2 ^m . fo. c 2 ^m . fo. galathas 4 ^{to}	[290]
Hugo de Vienna super marchum	
c 2 ^m . fo. predicatorem	[291]
Hugo de Vienna super duodecim prophetas	
c 2 ^m . fo. vnum	[292]
Gorram super matheum	
c 2 ^m . fo. erat	[293]

In octauo desco continentur 23 libri quorum primus est

Origines super ep ^{lam} pauli ad romanos	
c 2 ^m . fo. spē	[294]
Glo ^a quedam super lucam	
c 2 ^m . fo. fabul'	[295]
Parobole salamonis glo ^{te}	
c 2 ^m . fo. in cruce	(Theol. 38) [296]
Prima pars doctoris de lira s' fr ^{em} Nich ^m	
c 2 ^m . fo. et secundum	(Theol. 48) [297]
2 ^a pars eiusdem	
c 2 ^m . fo. in nouo	(Theol. 50) [298]
3 ^a pars eiusdem	
c 2 ^m . fo. et ne	(Theol. 49) [299]
Monachus beccensis super parobola salo ^{is}	
c 2 ^m fo. odit	[300]
Prima pars biblie	
c 2 ^m . fo. sciant	(? Theol. 1) [301]
2 ^a pars biblie	
c 2 ^m . fo. apprehendent	(? Theol. 2) [302]
Petrus Johannes super M ^t	
c 2 ^m . fo. ad p ^{rem}	[303]
Concordancie	
c 2 ^m . fo. viij C	(Theol. 4) [304]
Co ^{is} glosa super quinque libros sapien ^{les} cum expo ^{ne} Hugonis de Vienna	
c 2 ^m . fo. patris	[305]
Postille super exodum cum alijs	
c 2 ^m . fo. scribens	(Theol. 35) [306]
Jeronimus contra Jouinian'	
cuius 2 ^m . fo. fiaz	[307]
Tractatus super Joelem	
c 2 ^m . fo. et vt	[308]
Expō super apocalips	
c 2 ^m . fo. agno	(Theol. 37) [309]
Glo ^a super matheum	
c 2 ^m . fo. et quod	[310]
Postilla mora ^t	
c 2 ^m . fo. est	(Theol. 51) [311]

Libri plurimi augustini de mirabilibus noui et veteris testamenti	
c 2 ^m . fo. carencium	[312]
Frater Nich ^{us} de hanapis de exemplis sacre scripture	
c 2 ^m . fo. concilium	[313]
Tryuet super exodum	
c 2 ^m . fo. canan	[314]
Petrus de remediario conuersorum	
c 2 ^m . fo. collatinam	(Theol. 36) [315]
Job glosatus ex expō eiusdem	
c 2 ^m . fo. sidet	[316]

In nono desco continentur xiiij^{cim} libri quorum primus est

Glo ^a co ^{is} super Pentacon	
c 2 ^m . fo. Aug ^{us}	[317]
Glo ^a co ^{is} super libros regum	
c 2 ^m . fo. oculati	[318]
Glo ^a co ^{is} super ep ^{las} pauli	
c 2 ^m . fo. distab'	[319]
Glosa co ^{is} super marcum	
c 2 ^m . fo. ad finem	[320]
Glo ^a co ^{is} super ysaiam	
c 2 ^m . fo. hoc A	[321]
Glosa comunis super parabolas	
c 2 ^m . fo. adolescenti	[322]
Glosa co ^{is} super Job	
c 2 ^m . fo. vermibus	[323]
Glo ^a co ^{is} super actus ap ^{lorum}	
c 2 ^m . fo. Aug ^{us}	[324]
Glosa co ^{is} super lucam et Johannem	
c 2 ^m . fo. ante deum	[325]
Glosa comunis super Ezechielem	
c 2 ^m . fo. die xl ^a	[326]
Glosa co ^{is} super sapi ^{am}	
c 2 ^m . fo. p ^t	[327]
Glosa co ^{is} super	
c 2 ^m . fo. caderanda	[328]
Glo ^a co ^{is} super Josue et Judic'	
c 2 ^m . fo. moyses	[329]

Floretum Bartholomei

c 2^m. fo. scienciam iungaris.

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De pertinentibus cruci vniuersitatis.

Summa pars crucis cum ymagine crucifixi et ymaginibus s̄cē Marie et sancti Joh^{is}

Tabernaculum crucifixi cum ymaginibus Patris et s̄cē Marie cum angelo supra capita.

Alia pecia magna cum minore in capite cum ymaginibus Mich^{is} sancti Nichⁱ s̄cē Marie et gabrielis et s̄cī Thome deauratis cum duodecim penaculis maioribus et minoribus.

Aliud Tabernaculum paruum cum cristallo pro sacramento deferendo cum vno *pyñ*.

Baculus deauratus dimisus in tres pecias deauratas et duas pecias ligneas argenteas in finibus cum vno *vice*.

Item sex angeli deaurati cum alis omnibus extra vna et vnum *vice* argenteum fractum.

Item alia pecia que vocatur *Soket* pro pede crucifixi.

Item duo penacula sine cruce cum alijs duodecim paruis pecijs argenteis et deauratis.

Item duo superpelicia cum vno *Poket*.

Qui quidem libri omnes ac singuli cum cruce et eidem pertinencijs per procuratores supradictos eidem M' Johanni Ocley traditi sunt die et anno dⁿⁱ supradictis. Et a^o regni regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum Angl' (terciodecimo).

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

In the first list Richard Holme gave 16 out of the 76 volumes which form the original entry. His will dated Cambridge 18 April was proved 22 May 1424, and has been printed by the Surtees Society, *Test. Ebor.* Vol. i. p. 405. I omitted at first to notice that he refers for particulars to an inventory of legacies which is now apparently lost; so that we need not suppose the list to have been compiled so early as 1424, but must look to the entries themselves for a guide to the date. Thomas de Castro Bernardi was probably the Master of Peter-

house, who was succeeded by John Holbroke in 1418. William Hollere may be the vicar of Halvergate in Norfolk 1415—1426, mentioned by Parkin, *Hist. of Norf.* Vol. xi. p. 105. The earliest additional entries I have marked *; those by a third hand **; those by a fourth †; those by a fifth ††; those by a sixth †‡; and those by a seventh hand ††. Of the entries marked † the list of *Libri grammaticales* is subscribed “Westhawe,” possibly Thomas Westhaugh, who was elected fellow of Pembroke Hall in 1432, and who may have made the entry. Of the donors of the books marked †, John Holbrok was Master of Peterhouse in 1418, and seems to have died in 1431 or 1437. (See Tanner.) Kendale was probably Richard Kendale the grammarian, mentioned as living in 1431. (See Tanner.) Thomas Thurkyll is probably the person who formerly owned MS. ii. 3. 9, which afterwards belonged to William Lavender, who sold it in 1432 to Walter Crome, by whose gift it came to the Library in 1444. Of the donors of books marked †, Thomas (not Richard) Langley, Bishop of Durham, died in 1439, and the volumes are mentioned in his will, printed by the Surtees Society, *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores tres*, App. p. ccxli. Robert Alne died in 1440. His will dated 24 Dec. and proved 26 Dec. 1440, is printed in the *Test. Ebor.* Vol. ii. p. 78. It mentions, besides these books, a copy of *Franciscus [Petrarcha] de remediis utriusque fortunæ*, which Mr John Otryngham, Master of Michaelhouse in Cambridge, was to retain during his life; and accordingly this book appears (No. 57) in the later list printed above, and not in the earlier. Mr Nicolaus Wpton is probably the well-known writer of the treatise on heraldry.

In the second list, the books marked with an asterisk are those which I have identified as still existing in the Library. They are all in the first list, except those given by Walter Crome in 1444 and 1452, and one (No. 246) which came to the library “ex legati M^{ri} Joh^{is} Salle decretorum doctoris nuper socii Aule sancte Trinitatis.” There is no date, and the Trinity Hall records throw no light on it, but the book must have been given between 1440 and 1473, and the donor may have been John Salle, Vicar of Happisburgh in Norfolk 1429—1455.

III. AN EARLY UNIVERSITY STATUTE CONCERNING HOSTELS¹.

THE following Statute occurs on the last page of one portion of a miscellaneous volume in the University Library (MS. Mm. 4. 41), none of the contents of which can well be later than the 14th century, while the part in question may probably be assigned to the reign of Edward the First. The handwriting is the same as that of the treatises immediately preceding it, and it is quite possible that it was copied into this book very soon after the time at which it was first made.

A statute concerning Hostels, made in the reign of Edward the First, carries us back to a time in the history of the University when Peterhouse was the only College, and nearly all the members lived in these *Hospitia*. It is therefore less remarkable that we do not find this statute among the *Statuta Antiqua* in the printed editions; as the old Proctors' books, from which the materials chiefly came for the edition of 1785, seem not to have been drawn up till the end of the 14th century at the earliest, and so represent a time when the Collegiate system had begun to get a firm footing in the University. The Statute on the subject (No. 67) in the printed editions, is materially different from the one here given.

Statuta Universitatis Cantebriagiæ.

Si aliquis velit habere aliquam principalitatem alicujus hospitii in dicta universitate, veniat ad dominum hospitii illius

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 11, 1863.

in die Sancti Barnabæ apostoli; quia ab illo tempore [11 Jun.] usque ad Nativitatem Beatæ Mariæ [8 Sept.] possunt offerri cautiones et admitti, et nullo alio tempore anni.

Item qui prior est tempore prior est jure; ita, qui prius offert cautionem domino domus, stabit cautio; et illa cautio debet præferri coram Cancellario.

Item scholaris ille qui dare debet cautionem ipse debet venire domino hospitii in prædicto die vel infra illud tempus, sed quanto citius tanto melius, et in præsentia bedelli vel notarii vel duorum testium et cautionem sibi exponere cum effectū, si velit; ita videlicet cum effectū, vel cautionem fidejussoriam vel pignoratitiam, id est, vel duos fidejussores vel unum librum vel aliud tale; et, si non admittatur, ille scholaris debet statim adire Cancellarium et sibi exponere cautionem in præsentia illorum testium et dicere qualiter dominus hospitii te minus juste recusavit in cautione recipienda; et hoc probato Cancellarius statim te admittet ad illam cautionem et ad illam principalitatem invito domino hospitii.

Item ille qui scholaris est et principalis alicujus hospitii non potest cedere nec alicui clerico scholari socio renuntiari juri suo, sed tantum domino hospitii.

Item cessiones hujusmodi prohibentur quia fuissent in præjudicium domini hospitii; quod fieri non debet.

Item si aliquis sit principalis alicujus hospitii, et aliquis alius scholaris velit inhabitare tanquam principalis in eodem hospitio, adeat dominum hospitii et exponat sibi cautionem, ut dicitur supra, ita dicens: Domine, si placeat tibi, peto me admitti ad principalitatem hospitii tui in illa parochia, quando-cunque principalis velit cedere vel renuntiari juri suo, ita quod ego primo et principaliter et immediate possim sibi succedere, si placeat tibi, salvo jure suo dum principalis fuerit. Si non vult, exponas cautionem Cancellario, ut te admittat ad illam conditionem quod quodocunque non fuerit principalis, quod tu possis esse principalis et sibi succedere in eodem hospitio præ omnibus aliis; et Cancellarius te admittet invito domino et invito principali.

Item si aliquis dominus dicit alicui scholari: Vis tu esse principalis illius hospitii mei? Scholaris dicit quod sic; sed

dominus hospitii dicit quod non vult quod hospitium taxetur aliquo modo; scholaris dicit quod non curat; scholaris ingreditur tanquam principalis et accipit sibi socios scholares in hospitio suo. Isti scholares hospitii possunt adire Cancellarium et facere hospitium eorum taxari invito principali et invito domino, non obstante contractu inter dominum et principalem, quia contractus privatorum non potest præjudicare juri publico.

Item nullus potest privare aliquem principalem sua principalitate nec aliquo modo supplantare, dummodo solvit pensionem, nisi dominus hospitii velit inhabitare, vel nisi dominus vendiderit vel hospitium alienaverit.

IV. ON TWO HITHERTO UNKNOWN POEMS BY JOHN BARBOUR, Author of the *Brus*¹.

THE remains of early Scotch literature are so scanty, that I am glad of an opportunity to bring before the notice of our Society two genuine pieces of antiquity, two poems which I have no hesitation in assigning to Master John Barbour Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the author of the *Brus*, which have been lying unclaimed in our University for a hundred and fifty years, and which it has been my good fortune to disinter within the last three weeks. As hardly anything of Scotch literature remains to us earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, except the *Brus* by Barbour, who died in 1395, Wyntown's Chronicle called the *Orygynale* (about 1420), and the poems of King James the First, who died in 1437; it is a satisfaction to have recovered these two poems of Barbour's, the *Siege of Troy* and the *Lives of Saints*. Of the *Troy-book* only two fragments are forthcoming, comprising about 2200 lines; but the *Lives of Saints* seem to extend to about 40000 lines.

It was on the 11th of this month that I took down from the shelf in the University Library a copy of Lydgate's *Troy-book*. I only knew that it was a Scotch manuscript formerly in the Duke of Lauderdale's collection, which was sold by auction in London in 1692, and that it had been bought with several others from the same library by Bishop Moore, and transferred with the rest of his books to the University by the munificence of King George in 1715. My immediate object was to see how

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, April 30, 1866.

far Lydgate's southern English had been modified in the process of transcription by a Scotch scribe. The original volume was mutilated both at beginning and end, and the missing parts had been supplied in writing, from the printed edition of 1555, by one Sir James Murray of Tibbermure, who owned the book in 1612. However, on turning over a few leaves near the end of the original scribe's work, I was struck with a line in larger handwriting (that used throughout the volume for rubrics), running as follows:

Her endis the monk and begynnys barbour;

and on turning back, I found a similar rubric near the beginning:

Her endis barbour and begynnys the monk.

It was further apparent that the lines before this note at the beginning, as far as they were preserved (about 600), and after the note at the end (about 1500 or 1600), were not Lydgate couplets of verses of five accents, but Romance couplets of verses of four accents. A few lines were enough to show me that the language was anything but southern English; and I had little doubt that I had stumbled upon some fragments of a large work by the earliest known Scotch poet, of which I did not recollect to have seen any notice. After spending some hours in searching through the various works on Scotch literary history which were to be found in the Library, I wrote to Mr Cosmo Innes to ask for some information about the book, being very slow to believe that it was possible for me to discover anything in such an accessible library as ours, which had escaped the keen and life-long searches of such literary antiquaries as Scotland now possesses. Warton mentions another translation of Guido de Colonna's work, besides Lydgate's, as existing at Oxford among the Laud MSS.; and fortunately that part of the story which he quotes from the Oxford MS., the account of the arrival of Jason and Hercules at Colchos, also exists in the earlier of the fragments in our *Troy-book*; but though Lydgate's poem, the anonymous one at Oxford, and Barbour's are all translated from the same Latin text, the *Historia Trojana* of Guido de Colonna, they are all clearly different versions.

It is difficult to understand how these fragments come to occupy the place which they hold in the present MS. The only explanation I can suggest is that the Scotch scribe, wishing to make a copy of Lydgate's *Story of the Destruction of Troy*, was only able to procure for his purpose a copy mutilated at beginning and end; and that, in transcribing, he supplemented his original by taking the missing portions of the story from the antiquated (and in his eyes less refined) translation made by his own countryman in the previous century. King James seems to have carried back with him into Scotland the knowledge of the English poetry of his day. There is ample evidence of the popularity of Chaucer in Scotland in the latter half of the fifteenth century; several of his smaller poems are only known to us from Scotch copies of them; and one indeed is among the earliest productions of the Edinburgh press. It need not then be matter of surprise to us if the great popularity of Lydgate in England had spread his fame across the border. I still thought that anonymous copies of Barbour's *Siege of Troy* might have been preserved either entire or, as here, combined with Lydgate's work, and suggested this to my friends in Scotland; but at present all that I can say is that they know of no poem of the kind lying unclaimed. While, however, so many libraries remain unexplored, it is very probable that a more complete copy may yet be discovered¹.

It then occurred to me that our Society might very well print these two fragments of the *Troy-book*, and that, as there were but very few early Scotch manuscripts in the library, a brief description of these might be prefixed to the fragments when printed. The Latin Gospels of Deer, with the Gaelic charters at the beginning (the only Scottish Gaelic charters in existence), are already in the hands of Mr Joseph Robertson for publication, and may soon be expected; Stewart's *Metrical Chronicle*, from the Lauderdale Library, has been edited for the Master of the Rolls. The volumes containing the Scottish laws, and the Romance of Lancelot, &c., are already well-known; the volume of Lydgate had just yielded the two fragments of Barbour's poem, which I have noticed; and

¹ See note at the end of this paper.

almost the only other Scotch manuscript was an anonymous collection of *Lives of Saints*, which I had long known by sight, and which I have shown to all my Edinburgh friends in the hope of their recognising it as a well-known work, even if not by a known author. Having never obtained any satisfaction on the subject, I set to work to look carefully through it. It must have some definite place in its own class of literature; and for the last few years the necessity has become more and more apparent to me of trying to assign not merely to every composition but to every volume, whether written or printed, its definite place (however roughly defined) in our early literature. It is only by some systematic method of proceeding that we can ever hope to clear away the mass of confusion which exists in our knowledge of our national literature, especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

But to give some little account of this volume of *Lives of Saints*: it consists of nearly 400 leaves, with about 50 lines on a page, so that the series of lives must extend to nearly forty thousand lines. The writing seems to be of the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the binding must be contemporary, one of the few specimens of early binding, which remain in the library. One of the quires is guarded by a slip of parchment containing part of a document beginning: "Jacobus dei gratia rex Scottorum.....," enough to show where the book was bound. The unnamed author begins his prologue by saying that, as Cato and the author of the *Rose* justly say that idleness is the root of all evil,

"Yarfore sene I ma not wirk
"As mynistre of haly kirke
"For gret eld and febilnes,"

he employs himself in translating the lives of many of the saints. After the lives of the Apostles and several others, he closes the first portion of the work with the lives of Saint Nicholas (who, Mr Innes reminds me, is the patron saint of the City of Aberdeen), and Saint Morice or Macharius, the patron saint of the Church of the same place. At the beginning of his life of Saint Morice, he says:

"Bot before vthir I wald fayne
 "And I had cunnyng set my mayne
 "Something to say of saint Moryse
 "Yat in his tyme was ware and wis
 "And in the erd of sic renown
 "And als in hewine sa hye patron
 "Of Abirden in ye cite."
 * * *

There are fifty lives in all, and the second portion contains twenty-three of these; among them that of Saint Ninian the Apostle of Galloway. Unfortunately two leaves are wanting at the end of this life; but enough remains to afford us material help in tracing out the author. After the translation of the Latin legend, the writer gives several narratives in illustration. The first of these he begins thus:

"Of saint Niniane 3et I 3u tel
 "A ferly yat *in my time* befel
 "In Galoway til a nobil knycht
 "Yat Sir Fargus Magdonel¹ hycht.
 "And hardy was of hart and hand
 "And had the leding of the land
 "In worshiþe and slachtyr bath
 "One Inglis men to do skath."
 * * *

This ends thus:

"For thi honour be til hewynis kyng
 "And to saint Niniane honouryng
 "En al tyme of lyfand men.
 "Yarto say we al Amen.
 "Yis wes done but lessing
 "*Quhen Sir Davi bruys wes king.*"

After several further narratives, he begins another (now defective at the end) thus:

"A lytil tale 3it herd I tel
 "Yat *in to my tyme* befel
 "Of a gudman in Murrefe borne
 "In Elgyne and his kynde beforne
 "And callit wes a faithful man
 "With al yame yat him knewe yan

¹ Query so, or Magdoul?

"And yis mare trastely I say
 "For I kend hyme weile mony day
 "John Balormy wes his name
 "A man of ful gud fame."
 * * *

I find one Thomas Balhormy witness to a charter early in the fifteenth century, in the *Registrum Moraviense*, and other persons of the name appear in that part of the country. After Saint Ninian follow other saints, and the book closes with a life of Saint Katherine.

From the brief extract of these few passages you will see that the writer was an ecclesiastic, past work from old age, that he feels specially bound to sing the praises of Saint Machar, the patron of Aberdeen, that the story of the Galloway Knight happened in the author's own time, and during the reign of King David Bruce, who died in 1370; and, further, after relating stories of events which happened in Galloway, he mentions one of an Elgin man, an old friend of his own, as one which he can tell with more confidence of its truth than he can assert of the Galloway stories.

When we consider that John Barbour the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, was engaged from 1375 onwards in writing the *Brus*, and that he lived till 1395, and apparently at Aberdeen, I think there can hardly be a doubt that this poem should also be added to the meagre list of the productions of the father of Scotch poetry. Scotchmen have grieved over the loss of Barbour's poem on the Genealogy of the Stewarts, which is so often referred to by Wyntown, in his Chronicle; and therefore, though not of course of equal interest with the author's peculiarly national poems, they will no doubt be glad to have restored to them two such undoubted pieces as even from a philological point of view must be of considerable value and interest. To myself it is a peculiar satisfaction to think that such treasures as the Gospels of Deer and these two poems have been found in our own University Library; as it shows that however long and however shamefully it has been neglected, there is yet sufficient lying undiscovered to lead the keepers of the library to turn their attention to the books committed to their charge.

P.S. My conjecture has been verified to some extent. I have since had the good fortune to discover in the Douce Collection, a copy which furnishes about 1200 additional lines towards the close of the poem. Being at Oxford for some weeks this summer, I was enabled, thanks to the unequalled kindness of Mr Coxe, to explore at my leisure whole departments of the Bodleian Library. I was searching for printed books; but seeing a MS. of Lydgate's *Troy-Book* in an adjoining book-case, I was tempted to take it down, although I knew that all the Bodleian Lydgates had been just recently examined with great care for the committee of the Early English Text Society. It is a Scotch MS. and was probably copied from the Cambridge MS. before ours was so much mutilated. The beginning is Lydgate, the volume closes with the last few lines of Lydgate's poem, and the rubrics about Barbour and the Monk are omitted; so that it is not to be wondered at that even Mr Douce himself should have overlooked it, to say nothing of more recent investigators.

[It seems desirable to add here the description (evidently written by Mr Bradshaw) which appears in the 'Corrigenda' to the Catalogue of MSS. in the University Library at Cambridge. A note in Mr Bradshaw's handwriting records that this description was printed 8 February, 1867.]

Kk. v. 30. For the description given, read as follows:

A small folio, on paper; the original part is of the xvth century; the supply, which is now collected and placed at the end, is of the early part of the xviii. It is the volume marked 46 in the sale catalogue of the Duke of Lauderdale's MSS. (printed Lond. 1691-2, 4°, and reprinted in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. II. p. 149).

I. The original volume, consisting of upwards of 326 leaves, of which 1-10, 24, 324-326, and all following, are now wanting, contained

THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY, translated from the Latin of Guido de Colonna.

Leaves 11—19^a contain part (defective at the beginning) of a translation in romance couplets, apparently by John Barbour, the author of the Brus. Leaves 19^a—304^b are part of Lydgate's translation (printed Lond. 1513, 1555, folio). Leaves 304^b—323 contain a continuation of the story from Barbour's translation, defective at the end. The beginnings and endings are as follows :

Leaf 11^a :

And Dyomedes byrdes yai ware
Callit thare eftre mony a 3here.

Leaf 19^a :

That yar was neuer nane hyr lyk
No neuer sall be pure no ryk

HER ENDIS BARBOUR AND BEGYNNIS þE MONK

Because of certane Interseueracions (ed. 1555, leaf 13^b)
Of dyuerse cercles and reuolucions

Leaf 304^b :

Inne yis myschief yat I am infall (ed. 1555, leaf 130^b)
Lord god thy grace mot help ws one and all

HER ENDIS THE MONK ANDE BYGYNNIS BARBOUR

The kyng when yis counsell was done
In hys hall pryvely ryght sone

Leaf 323^b :

He fond a fayre pleyn wher he thought.

Some of the missing portions of the latter part of Barbour's translation are to be found in MS. Douce 148, which was probably copied from this MS. before it was so much mutilated.

II. The supply, consisting of 82 leaves, is mostly in the handwriting of Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir. The contents are as follows :

1. Twelve lines, from the beginning of Book 8, Chapter 5, of the *Life and Acts of Wallace*, beginning (leaf 1^a) :

The mirrie Day, sprang frome the Orient

2. 'Catologus Librorum Jacobi Murryi ut sequitur.' They are grouped as 'Libri sacri, latini, gallici, vulgares, scripti,' but only occupy one page, Leaf 2^a.

3. 80 lines in rhyming 12- and 14-syllable couplets, beginning (5^a) :

ENGLISHE DYARE.

He that his mirth hes lost, quhais confoirt is dismaid
 Quhais hoip in vaine, quhais faith in scorne, quhais trust
 is all betrayit

ending:

Sence in this erth that yar ar none thy accent sounds
 aricht. Finis.

4. 112 lines in rhyming 12- and 14-syllable couplets, beginning (6^a):

MURRAYIS DYARE.

Thou irksome bed quhairin I tumble to and fra
 And restles rolls boith wp and doune may witness veill
 my vae

ending:

Thyself frome being cald onkynd and me thy dogg from Death.
 Finis. Ameenn. quod Murravius.

5. Lines 1—91 of a poem in romance couplets, beginning (11^a):
 Listine lordings by the dayis off Arthure
 Was Britan in greet honoure
 breaking off (unfinished, not mutilated):

Ane rich Pavillione yar picht ful hie
 Ewrie pom

It is the Romance of Sir Lamuell or Launfal, but different from those in print.

6. Murray's supply to Lydgate's Troy-book, from the edition printed at London in 1555; Title-page (26^a); R. Braham's Epistle to the reader (27); Lydgate's Prologue (28^a—32^b); Table of Chapters (33, 34); Beginning of the poem (35—48); end of Lydgate's Book 4 (49, 50); latter part of Lydgate's Book 5 (51—71^a), ending thus (71^a):

Itt to support and thus ane end I mak.

Finis. Hic explicit Liber 5^{us} et ultimus. All quhilk befor it
 vantet yis 40 zeiris ago now latlie eikit addit and copeit out off ye
 print ye beginning and end yar off yis holl storie as ye breik beareth
 be me James Murray with my hand in all hest that for ye present
 hes ye same of my father Jhone Murry off Tibbermuir most Justlie
 anno 1612 ye 24 of Maij.

- 7—9. Three sonnets, in one handwriting, beginning (71^b):

7. Quhen feirce Achilles att ye sege off Troye

8. Sen so itt is that quho so ever tuik lyffe

9. Leve me o love quhilk rechis bot to dust

10. Four stanzas, beginning (75^a):

Begone sueit Nicht and I sall call the kynd

11. A sonnet, beginning (76^a):

Heich Architectors wouderous wouttit rounds

By Alex. Montgomery. See Mr Laing's edition (Edinb. 1821, 8vo), p. 64.

12. A sonnet, beginning (76^a):

I am the sevint I was the fyft of tuelve

This is a charade of which apparently the writer has given the solution in the margin: 'Julian I: Carre.' It is in the same handwriting as the last.

13—22. Ten sonnets, in one handwriting, beginning (77^a):

13. Leip varlie on be sicker syne to sitt

14. Mestress ze bad me thryse putt on my spurris

15. Quha vald cum speid tall him imploy his pen

16. Cidippe reid and reidding restid sueir

17. First I beleived ye erth suld turne in Assh

18. Owerquhelmed in vais and drouned in deip dispair

19. Mestress quhen last ve twa did part a sundre

20. Lyk as ye litle emet hath hir gall

21. First in ye orient Rayn ye Assiriene Kings

22. Nocht Orientall Indus christall streemes

At the end of the last is written 'Vale.' Against N^o. 21 the writer has put 'Mon.' which may mean that Montgomery is the author; but it is not in the edition of 1821; and, on the other hand, Mr David Laing has printed it as by Drummond of Hawthornden; see *Archæologica Scotica*, Vol. iv., page 101 (thence included in Mr Cunningham's edition of Drummond).

23. Fifty-eight 4-line stanzas, beginning (79^a):

YE DAY ESTIVALL.

O perfyт lycht quhilk sheds away

By Alex. Hume. See 'Hymnes, or Sacred Songs,' Edinb. 1599, p. 13, as reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, Edinb. 1832, 4to.

24. Six 8-line stanzas, beginning (80^b):

Cupid q^m sall I byt bot the

25. Four stanzas, here arranged in 5 lines each, beginning (81^a):
 Lyk as the Dum, Solsequium, with cair overcum,
 Doth sorou quhen ye sone goth out off sicht

By Montgomery. Printed several times; see Mr Laing's ed. p. 169. Below, in the same handwriting, is a couplet beginning: 'Cupid and dead togider...;' then, scribbled: 'Finis quod thomsone with my hand.'

26. Seven stanzas, beginning (81^b):

Quhen I say in my mynd ye lyff of all sorts

With the refrain: 'And he playis upon ane bagpyp wpon a grene hillo, Trandillo, trandillo' &c.

27. Five stanzas, beginning (82^a):

Displesour with his deadlie dairt

By Montgomery. See the edition, p. 227.

28. Two 4-line stanzas, beginning (82^a):

Quhat mey be compared tuix labour and luiff

At the end is written by a different (?) hand: 'Johne Thomsone with my hand.'

29. Three 8-line stanzas, beginning (82^b):

Quhat giff a day or a nycht or a zeir

On leaf 74^b occur the names 'Kathrin Morton with my hand, 'Marie Moorraye with my hand;' on 76^b 'Capitane James Lyell.'

Handwriting of Dr John Edwards

might bring upon Stage 5 Smoking Heads, one of whom is an In-
 vention of Bridges, who never mounted a pulpit: another is his Gizz-
 ard, who is taken home to dine with him, & then comes reading to church
 at Carol in afternoon. He had spent as much money in Red Juxes
 as we had in hospital yet it did not give him spirit enough to
 read his Speech before Queen at Newmarket. The Square-faced
 Dr & y^e Wall-eyed priest, both of y^m Hol & Hipping like in their own goods,
 might be here mentioned, with an other, who is referred for afterwards.

[From MS. Add. 58, Univ. Library Cambridge]

V. A VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN¹.

A MASS of papers formerly belonging to Dr Samuel Knight (the author of the *Lives of Colet, Erasmus, &c.*) was given to the University Library some years ago by Mr Baumgartner of Milton. Among these is a fragment of a book in quarto, extending from page 102 to page 216, all thoroughly prepared for the press; but the beginning and end of the volume are altogether wanting. The Library mark is MS. Add. 58.

The work is an urgent appeal for the restoration of the Church of England to a state of primitive and apostolic simplicity in doctrine and practice. The author is evidently within the pale of the Church, though vehemently opposed not only to the corruptions of his own day, but also to the whole development of Church organisation, episcopacy, &c.

The fragment which has come down to us affords such a vivid picture of the state of the University during the latter part of Queen Anne's reign, that I regret very much that my attempts to discover more of the work have been so far unavailing. If it should be identified hereafter as already existing in print, I can only say that it seems to be unknown to those of the present generation who have made a study of this portion of the history of the University, and I am sure that the members of the Antiquarian Society will not regret that attention is here drawn to it.

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, December 3, 1866.

P.S. I leave the above remarks standing as they were made to the Antiquarian Society when I first discovered the fragment; but I am now (1873) satisfied that it is a portion of a work by a well known Cambridge divine of Queen Anne's time, John Edwards, D.D., sometime Fellow of St John's College. I have been led to the identification by examining the scraps of paper used for the insertion of additional matter. Opposite page 189 the author has used a portion of a letter which runs as follows :

London April 19
1714.

Rev^d Sr,

I have sent you some more sheets and we shall soon get done for he has promised he will not go off it any more. We are making up your account about your Body of Divinity, haveing had a meeting last week about it, and we shallthis. What we desire is that you

Opposite page 173 is a fragment of another letter, as follows :

Rev^d Sir,

Having this good opportunity by Mr Purchas of Cambridge, I gladly

Opposite page 147 is a portion of a certificate :

...Edwards S.T.B. in actualem possessionem
...S^{ti} Petri apud Colcestrenses inductus fuit decimo
...s Maii anno Dⁿⁱ 1683

per me

Johannem Pearson
Ecclesiæ ejusdem Curat'.

These pointed to a clergyman named Edwards, already B.D. when inducted into the vicarage of St Peter's, Colchester, in 1683, and in 1714 the author of a recently published Body of Divinity, and residing in Cambridge. From Newcourt's Repertorium I found that *John* Edwards, B.D., was presented to the Vicarage of St Peter's Colchester, in 1682; and on turning to the *Biographia Britannica*, I found a detailed notice, derived

from an authentic memoir of Dr Edwards, drawn up in great measure by himself. Mr Luard has since satisfied me that the handwriting of the manuscript is identical with Edwards's signatures now remaining in the University Registry. Under these circumstances I think there can be no doubt that we are safe in considering Dr John Edwards to be the author of the work here brought to light.

Seeing, then, that an account of the writer is to be found in all the biographical dictionaries, I need only give here the barest outline of the facts of his life. Born at Hertford in 1637, the son of Thomas Edwards, the well known Presbyterian divine, he entered the University at St John's College, where he obtained a Fellowship in 1659. He proceeded to both degrees in arts and both in divinity. He held at different times a lectureship at Trinity Church, Cambridge, and at Bury St Edmunds. He was for sometime Vicar of St Peter's, Colchester, as stated above. Again, he was Minister of St Sepulchre's Church, Cambridge. During the last five and twenty years of his life he seems to have lived at Cambridge and to have devoted himself entirely to writing books. We are told that he had no private library whatever, but that he used the Public Library freely, and obtained the new books on loan from the booksellers at the rate of so much a volume. His last great work was the *Theologia Reformata* or Body of Divinity, alluded to in the fragment of a letter from his publisher given above. The first three parts of this came out in two folio volumes in 1713. At his death, in 1716, he is said to have left almost as many works in manuscript as he had published in his life-time. Of these a third volume of his *Theologia Reformata* was published in 1726; and, five years later, a volume entitled, 'Remains of the late Reverend and Learned John Edwards, D.D., sometime Fellow of St John's College, in Cambridge. Prepared for the Press before his Death' (8vo. London, 1731). Thanks to the kindness of Dr Campion I have been able to examine a copy of this volume, belonging to Queens' College Library. It contains five treatises and two sermons. The second treatise bears the title: 'A Discourse of Episcopacy wherein this question is resolved, whether in the Primitive

'Times there was a *Distinct Order of Bishops* different from 'that of *Presbyters*, or whether all Ministers were *equal*. Which 'will yield a full Answer to all that hath been written in defence of Modern Episcopacy.' There can be little doubt that this Discourse is the one alluded to on p. 171 of the fragment now in the University Library, where the writer says: 'To 'conclude, the Equality of Ministers in the Church is founded 'on the Writings of the New Testament, and consequently the 'Primacy of Bishops is a swerving from those Sacred Writings. 'But of this I shall distinctly and largely speak in a Just Discourse which the Reader will find annexed to these Papers, 'and therefore at present I dismiss this Theme.' As the author died in 1716, the probability is that the work, which had evidently been several years in hand, was passing through the press at the time of the author's death, and that it is owing to this circumstance, that it fell into Dr Knight's hands in its present fragmentary state.

I have thought it as well to give a brief summary of the contents of what we have left of the work, with a few extracts, giving in full only that part which relates to the University. It would perhaps not be difficult to put names to all the persons whom the writer has concealed under a very thin disguise. Of the five smoking Heads, the 'overgrown Pedagog 'who never mounted a Pulpit,' is, I presume, the Provost of King's College, Dr Roderick, known to our time as the Headmaster of Eton whom the College elected Provost in 1689, when they first wrested the nomination to the Provostship out of the hands of the Crown, and were successful in refusing to receive Sir Isaac Newton as the nominee of King William the Third. Dr Edwards, as a zealous preacher, felt keenly the need of this gift in the Church; and accordingly speaks here with rather more bluntness than courtesy. But Dr Roderick's claim to remembrance certainly does not rest on his sermons. The Fellow of St John's, an archbishop's nephew, the climax of whose offences seems to have been his appearing 'in grey clothes and a crevat', I have not identified. But those who are more conversant with the history of the University, and especially St John's College, will not have much difficulty in

satisfying themselves about almost all the persons here alluded to. It has a double interest to us from the fact that this picture was drawn at the very time when Ambrose Bonwicke was an undergraduate at the University.

The facsimile, which accompanies this paper, was executed for me by Mr F. C. Price¹, and affords a good specimen of the handwriting of the manuscript. When it was done, I had not discovered the author, and I was anxious to give every facility for identifying the handwriting, which ought not to have been a difficult matter, seeing the mass of correspondence which has come down to us from that period. Now that the author has been traced out, it is perhaps a needless addition; but I have preferred to leave it, for the benefit of any readers who may be interested in the study of handwriting.

The Fragment commences (p. 102) in the middle of some remarks on the service of the Church, and the rites and ceremonies used. The writer inveighs strongly against the use of Organs in Churches, against the reading of the Apocryphal Books (105), the use of Creeds in the service (106), of Sponsors in Baptism (ib.), &c. These are followed by ten considerations, upon which 'it cannot but be thought reasonable to let fall 'some of our Rituals and Ceremonials' (154). He then deals with the arguments from Antiquity, Tradition, and Custom. Next (169) he says: 'The Fourth and Last thing is now to be 'handled, that is, I am to shew that the *Primitive Discipline* 'and *Government of the Church* is much defaced among us.' This part touches at the mode of election and appointment, &c., and on the degeneracy of the clergy, and on the covetousness and avarice of prelates, even in dealing with the poorer clergy.

'I might observe' he writes (p. 188) 'how our *Religious Mammonists* grasp at *any thing* where Gain is to be had. They

¹ [See Prefatory Note. J.]

fetch even *Physic* and *Surgery* under their Jurisdiction. Every poor *Schoolmaster* is under their lash, yea, and every *Midwife*. So that a child can't be born into the world, a boy can't be whipt, a fellow's broken pate can't be cured without the *Bishop's Licence*. Without this none can be *married* at some certain times of the year: but the Bishop and his Court can *dispense* with these *Prohibited Times* (as they call them), if you will pay for it. What think you? Is this according to the Platform of the Apostolic Ages?

The worldliness of some of the *rest of the Clergy* cannot escape our observation; for they learn of the Prelates, and rake what they can, and are never satisfied. We have scandalous Proofs of this in every Diocese: we have two instances of it of late in this Country. One Clergyman possessed three Benefices, together of the value of three hundred and fifty pounds a year, or more; and besides these he had two other Benefices and Cures of souls in other places worth above £200 yearly, and a Prebend of £100 yearly value, and a *Sinecure* of the like value, and a Mastership of a College of above £200 per annum, and a real Estate of his own of £500 per annum, besides about £30000 in mony. The other was Master of a College, Archdeacon, Parson of a rich Living, Prebendary of one Church, and Chancellor of an other, and he had a good Benefice in the same Diocese. Any one of these Preferments was sufficient to maintain any sober and moderate Clergyman, and some of them very plentifully. And yet so it is, they seldom thrive under this Heap of Preferments; but most of them die poor and in debt, and scandalously defraud the living. I forbear mentioning Particular Instances...

I know they pretend that they must have great Revenues in order to *keeping Hospitality*...The pretence of *Hospitality* is an idle flam...

There are other Disorders, and even of a different kind, in some of our Ecclesiasticks, which are not very agreeable with the Primitive Practice of Churchmen: witness the *Luxury* which many of the Clergy are noted for at this day. A great part of their Revenues is expended in plenty of Red Juice for themselves (yea, they are such Lovers of that liquor that

they take the Communion in Claret), and an other larg Part is lavishd away in *Modish Dresses* for their Spouses. They pray and drink, and drink and pray...The younger frie strut up and down in Cockd-up hats and Powderd wigs: insomuch that their friend Dr Hickes calls them a *Well-powderd Clergy*. When Crape was the mode, nothing would serve them for Gowns and Cassocks but that: and in other Instances 'tis visible that they comply with every Fashion that comes up. Some of them affect to be perfect *Beaus*, and seem to be the greatest *Fops* in nature. They have lately got into Girdles or Sashes *a la mode de la Campagne*, and these displayd and spread Circingles make them look like *Drummers* or some Petty Officers in an Army...And as to their *Wives* and *Daughters*, they dance and sing, they play, they game: a Common Prayer book and a Pack of Cards are their daily diversion. They patch and paint as plentifully as any of their sex. You would verily think that the *Close* belonging to the *Cathedral* were a *Turkish Seraglio*, rather than the Habitation of Christian people. The Aggravation of all this is that these persons whom I have been deciphering are those who should be Examples to others of Mortification and Self denial: nay, that which is sufferable in others, is not so in them.'

At the close of this passage (p. 191) the author says: 'Thus I have dispatchd two of the Generall Heads which I undertook 'to treat of: there now remains the Third, namely, *Directions and Advices for recovering of Primitive Christianity*.' After giving his *Advices* under the four heads of Doctrine, Practice, Public Worship, and Ecclesiastical Government, he proceeds to give his *Directions* under eight heads, as follows (p. 202):

'In order to the *Reformation*, which is so desirable in the Church and in Church Affairs, I will make bold to offer some *Particular Directions*.

First, to make way for the changing of the Episcopal Government, let the *Revenues* of Bishopricks be lessend...

Secondly, Lessen the revenues not only of Bishopricks, but of some *Benefices*, that thereby there may be an Addition made to others...

Thirdly, Destroy *Non-Residence*, and put down *Pluralities*...

Fourthly, Let *Parishes* that are too *wide*, be *contracted*, and let more Churches be erected to receive the Inhabitants, and more Pastors be set over those Churches...

Fifthly, Let the Bishops put a stop to their *Ordinations* for some time, or admit fewer into Orders than usually heretofore. There seems to be good ground for this, for there are already above fourty thousand Clergymen in England, but not above ten thousand Benefices in all: and the number of the Clergy are daily increasing...

Sixthly, Let those that are to be ordained undergo a stricter *Examination* than hath been used, yea, than is according to the present Laws....

Seventhly, Let there be frequent *Synods* and *Consultations* about Ecclesiastical affairs and correcting Abuses in the Church: and let Learned, Pious, and Sober *Laymen* be admitted to these Consultations....

Eighthly and lastly, Care must be taken of the *Universities*, that is, they ought to be Reformd. There is good ground for this, if we reflect on the Deficiency and Failure in their *Studies* and in their *Morality*, which are visible among them at this day.

First, their Remissness in their Studies is very Notorious and Scandalous. In some of these late years vast numbers of those that have been Candidates for the Degree of *Batchelour of Arts* have been disappointed of it because of their Insufficiency in Learning, though the Posers and Examiners were very Moderate and Favourable. And when several of them were admitted to the second Posing, yet not a few of them were finally stopt. It will be Amazing to tell what Easy Questions were put to some of them, and yet they were not able to answer them. One of them was askd what was the English of *Anno Domini*, but the blockhead was not able to tell, but the stupid creature thought it must be anno, annas, annavi. Another was askd how long it was since our Saviour's birth: he said, about a hundred years: an other differd from [him] in his Chronology, for being askd whether Noah or Christ was first in the world, he gave it for the latter. One related to me how dismal and distracting a sight it was to see at the Ex-

aminer's chamber the postures and actions of the forlorn creatures: one was poring on his Accidence, an other on his Grammar, an other turning over a Dictionary, to construe a little plain Latin, an other was bid to turn English into Latin, wherein an ordinary School-boy could do much more. Such mean performances as these, and the like, were required of them after they had been resident four years or there about in the Colleges. Thus they neglect the business for which they were sent to the University: they shamefully and scandalously mispend their hours, and render themselves unfit for the Degree they take (if they can take it) and more unfit for the work of the Ministry they were design'd for. Thus we are like to have an Ignorant Clergy, unless greater care be used to reform these Nurseries, and those who preside over the Youth there. For indeed the fault is generally in the Tutours, some of whom neglect their Charg, and particularly they take no care of those that are design'd for the Ministry, they read no Divinity Lectures to them, they instruct them not in the Principles of Theology: some of them spend their days in Idleness and Sottishness, and are serviceable neither to God nor man. What a parcel of Lazy Drones there is in these places, may be gatherd from one College only, which hath been lately talkd of. Tis observable concerning some of them that though the profits of their Fellowships are inconsiderable, yet when their Course of preaching at St Mary's comes about, they hire one to do that office, and part with two Guineas, when they have not an other in the world. Some venture on the work themselves, and do it indifferently, and sometimes very scandalously. This generally is observ'd at *Sturbridg fair* time, and thereby their sorry performances are Proclaim'd, and the report of them carried home by the Citizens. Hence all that do their work very dully in the pulpit are usually called *Sturbridg fair Preachers*. As for the *Heads* (as they call them), that is, the *Masters of Colleges*, their idle and useless way of living is too well known. Though they love to hear of a Public Commencement, because of the Good Cheer they meet with then, yet they tremble at nothing more than the thoughts of Disputing at that time. They shake at the very mentioning of any Public Exercise,

especially of *Preaching*, and though it be required of them but once in a douzen years, yet then they hire a preacher, and do their work by a Journyman. It is their lot to be the subject of every *Prevaricator* and *Tripes*, and they sit tamely, and hear themselves jeerd, because they are conscious to themselves of their Crimes, and thence bear their Correction with a seeming patience; however, they become contemptible in the eyes of the young men.

I am to pass from the *Laziness* and *Uselessness* of these people to something that is of a Worse nature, and that is *Immorality* and *Debauchery*. Here are not only Dunces but Rakes, and both meet in the same persons, which makes their Character more ignominious and odious, for nothing is more detestable than a Debauched Dunce. They are continually haunting Taverns and Alehouses, though it be expressly against their Statutes to do so. They sit up late in these Public houses, and at midnight or in the morning they stagger to their Colleges, and disturb the neighborhood and rouse them out of their sleep by their clamorous outcries and loud knockings at the Gates, and calling to the Porter to let them in to their freehold, as they term it. If they can't presently be admitted, they climb over College walls, break gates and iron barrs to make their way at night into their chambers. They most dishonestly and unjustly run in debt, to the impoverishing of several Townsmen. Twenty or thirty pounds on the score at a Tavern is usual; and sometimes half as much or more for Tobacco, and proportionably for the liquors at Ale houses, Coffee houses, &c. Some of them have feloniously broken into places in the night, and have stolen away what they found there. Yea lately one of Caius's College, a Fellow, and in Sacred orders, stole out of the University Library above a cart-load of books of all sorts, and cut many of them in pieces. Tis too notorious to be conceald that several University men have been arraignd for Murder, and have merited the punishment due for it, but methods were used to prevent the execution of it. It would be endless to rehearse the gross Immoralities of the Academics, both the Young ones and their Tutours, and those of advancd years: for some of the disorders

before mentiond are practis'd by them equally and promiscuously. I might bring upon the Stage the five *Smoking Heads*, one of whom is an Overgrown Pedagog, who never mounted a Pulpit: an other is his Gizzard, who is taken home to dine with him, and then comes reaking to church with Claret in the afternoon. He hath spent as much mony in Red Juyces as would build an Hospital; yet it did not give him spirits enough to read his Speech before the Queen at Newmarket. The Square-fac'd Doctor and the wall-eyd Priest, both of them Hot and Hissing like a Tailors goose might be here mentiond, with an other, who is reservd for afterwards. It is observable that among the University men that almost half of them are *Hypt* (as they call it), that is, disorderd in their brains, sometimes Mopish, sometimes Wild, the two different effects of their Laziness and Debauchery. If there be a Sober and Diligent Tutour, he is affronted, abus'd, injur'd: and when he is so he can find no Redress, but brings on himself a greater Odium, as in the case of Clare Hall. It may be added in the last place that there is no Restraint or Check on these disorders, but Impunity reigns every where, and the most extravagant behaviour is not reform'd. Mr. F., Fellow of Christ's College (now Parson of A. in Hertfordshire) kept a Concubine in town several years, and is at this day grown Old with her. Mr. V., a Fellow of St. John's, lies at rack and manger at a house five or six miles off of Cambridg, without lawfull occasion to detain him there, yea under great suspicion of a Vitious Commerce. He is absent from his Benefice and Charg in the Country, and never repairs to his College but when there are Leases to be Seal'd, or a dividend to be receiv'd; yet none remind this man of his duty. Another Fellow of the same College, a Rector of a Parish not far off of Cambridg, a nephew of an Archbishop, runs up and down the Country, is at all hors-matches and cockfightings, appears in Grey clothes and a Crevat. Yet he is not checkd either by the Diocesan or the College, though this behavior is both against Canon and Statute.

With the Immorality of these Academics is joynd *Prophaness* and *Impiety*. I have heard them with these ears swear and curse and damn like Hectors: and nothing is more usual

with them in their common conversation. And this Prophane Swearing prepares them for that Breach of Oaths of an other nature, which they are guilty of. They solemnly swear to keep the Statutes of the University, and of their particular Colleges, and yet live in a most visible violation of them, them I mean which respect not only their Manners, but their Exercises: but at the end of the year they meet in the Regent-house, and are *Absolved* by a Priest without shewing any signs of Repentance. They shew little regard and reverence for the *Lords day*, for they choose Vicechancellors and Proctors (when the course comes about) on that day, though an Act of Parliament excuses them from Elections or any such Secular business on that day. On all Sundays in the afternoon they go immediately from the Church to the Coffee-houses, as if they thought it were but passing from one place of diversion to an other. Though there was her Majesties *Proclamation* against prophaning this day, in which persons were particularly forbid to go to Coffee houses, yet the Vicechancellor and Clergy take no notice of it, but act contrary to it. On Trinity Sunday and on John Port. Latin when it falls on a Sunday, the Bachelors of Arts of these respective Colleges go and trudge from College to College, to beg three days Non-Term for that week. And can we then expect Reverence to be paid by others to this Solemn Time, when we thus disregard it ourselves? Whether the Undergraduates and Scholars repair to Church on this day, or stay at home, is little minded by their Tutours: but when they go, every body knows of it, for they talk aloud in the Church, they laugh, they most irreverently behave themselves even in the time of Divine Service. If they meet not with the Desireable Spectacle, they run out of the Church as if they were frighted: and their practise is to ramble up and down from Church to Church through out the town, to gaze on the young women, and (as some of them are wont to confess) to tell how many Patches they wear. I have heard two Reverend Divines talk about their Cats in the Vestry just before they went to their seats in St Mary's. And when they are come thither, they sleep as soundly as if they had taken a good dose of Opium before they came to Church: and this is done in the face of the Youth of their Colleges.

Many particulars might be mentiond of the Prophane spirit and carriage of these Gownmen. One who was a Fellow of a College and Preacher in the town, finding himself over-loaded with liquor, employd one of his Pupils, an Undergraduate, and not in Sacred Orders, to read the prayers at a Burial, at which he was not able to perform the Office himself. At Benet College they game and play in their chambers after Supper, and when the Bell rings at nine a clock, they cast knaves who shall go down and read Prayers. I might take notice of a Doctor of Divinity's reprimand to the Parish Clark of St Mary's who used according to the common custom to tell the people that they must sing such or such a Psalm *to the praise and glory of God*. What (said he) *have you to do with the glory of God?* These Great Pretenders to the observation of *Holy days* baffle their pretences, by their own example, for though by all means they will have Sermons preachd on those days, yet there is but a poor thin Congregation, sometimes not two Doctors at Church. As for *Fast-days* the Holiness of them is zealously asserted and maintaind by an University man, who in order to the keeping up of Wednesday-Fasts hath this pleasant Conceit¹: '*Mercury*, 'to whom *Wednesday* is devoted, being the Idol of *Gain*, it 'would therefore be more especially proper for any one to ob- 'serve this Fast-day who hath occasion to punish and mortify any 'sin of *Wrong* and *Injustice*, *Covetousness* and *Immoderate Love* 'of the *World*.' And surely it is as proper for *Scholars* and *Students*, seeing *Mercury* is the God of Wit and Arts? This Writer is pleased also to inform us concerning the propriety of *Friday-fasts*, for this day being in remembrance of the Goddess *Venus*, the Mistress of *Pleasure*, it may put us in mind to abstain from the love of *Voluptuousness*. Such excellent Notions doth this Author furnish us with. I might observe here that though our Academics cry up Fasting, yet they keep up only the mere Name, for in Lent-time they enlarg their Commons, and generally the greatest Eatings are on Fast-nights. The pure *Emmanuelists* satisfy their consciences by supping in the College Parlour on friday-nights, whereas it were a great sin to eat their Commons in the *Hall*. A Chapel is a Holy place, yet in

¹ Mr Brome of Christian Fasting, p. 72.

some Colleges they read and seal all their *Leases* there. Here are *Declamations* on very ill subjects sometimes, and *Disputations* on *Questions* not fit to be movd in this place. So in St Mary's Church not only Exercises in Philosophy, Law, and Physic are performd at a Commencement, but Jests and Merriment are permitted, and the most Conformable Clergy clap on their caps or hats in this place: which at an other time is reckond to be Prophaness. Who can forbear laughing at these Vain Shews and Contradictory Pretences? Shall I here take notice that tis common with University men to talk despicably of *Country Parsons*; tis a piece of Wit and Jest to mention the bare Name and yet they are constantly gaping for this Rural Post, and impatiently expect the Fall of a Fellowship, that they may approach nearer to that Preferment, or even heartily pray for the death of an Old Incumbent, that they may speedily be advanced to his place. I could observe that the Order of *Deacons* is abused and prophan'd here by those who enter into it, merely to capacitate them for a Fellowship, not in order to the exercise of the Holy Function. And how few are there here that can answer those Questions which are askd them when they are ordaind to that office, especially the first, Whether *they are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them that Mini-stration*? I have now done, though I could say much more concerning these persons, but I spare them.

I think it sufficiently appears from what I have allready advanced that there is some Reason why these Societies should be narrowly inspected and regulated, why these Fountains should be purified. It is certain that they never so wanted a Purgation as at present. If the Founders and Benefactors were alive, they would call for it, and if it were not effected, they would heartily repent of their Bounty. If there be not a Reformation, Parents may as hopefully send their sons to these Seminaries as the Idolatrous Jews offerd their children to Moloch, that is, to be destroyd. Wherefore it is high time that this Cage of Unclean birds be cleansd, lest the foundation of Impiety and Lewdness be laid here by them, which they will never be able to free themselves from in the future part of their lives; lest Irreligion should be cherishd here to fit them as 'twere for

higher degrees of it afterwards; and lest the polluted streams which flow from these impure fountains should be diffused through the whole Church and Nation. This may convince us of the Necessity of reforming the Manners of these men, and particularly in order to carrying on the great Design which I have been propounding, that is, the Restoring of Primitive Purity, and bringing all things in Christianity to a conformity to the Rules and Prescriptions given us by Christ himself and his Apostles.'

About two pages after this the manuscript breaks off, in the middle of a sentence (page 216).

VI. ON THE EARLIEST ENGLISH ENGRAVINGS OF THE INDULGENCE KNOWN AS THE 'IMAGE OF PITY'.¹

THE discovery of one of these Indulgences lately in the University Library has led me to put together a few facts which may be of interest to those who give their attention to the subject of the rise of wood-engraving in England.

The facts which are fairly certain about early wood-engraving in this country are few, but yet enough to enable any one to form a basis of comparison, if he will pursue the subject methodically. They are all to be found in connexion with the employment of the wood-engraver by the printer. I will put these facts as briefly and as intelligibly as I can.

The first printing-press started in England (A) was that of William Caxton at Westminster (November 18, 1477)². The second (B) was that of Theodoricus Rood de Colonia at Oxford (December 17, 1478). The third (C) was that of the unnamed schoolmaster at Saint Alban's (1480). The fourth (D) was that of John Lettou in the city of London (1480). John Lettou was soon joined by William de Machlinia, who afterwards carried on the business alone.

The art of wood-engraving was employed by the printers for (1) initial letters; (2) borders round the page; (3) illustra-

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, February 25, 1867.

² These are the dates of the completion of the first books known to have been issued from each press. They answer all practical purposes, and this method compels us to keep to ascertained

facts and to avoid all fruitless speculations as to what may have been. Where I differ in my dates or conclusions from Mr Blades, it is only the result of several years' work upon the subject which his own incomparable monograph has alone rendered capable of being satisfactorily studied.

tions inserted in the text; and (4) the printer's own monogram or device.

1. *Initial letters.*

A. At Caxton's press simple initials are found in the indulgences of 1480 and 1481, and in the *General sentence* and the *Bedes on the sondaye* given at the close of the Four Sermons which form an appendix to the *Liber Festialis*, printed June 30, 1483. It is only in the Esop however (March 26, 1484) that initials are first found as a regular part of the book, and from that time onwards they are customary.

B. At Oxford one letter, G, occurs about sixty times in the Festial of 1486, but everywhere else a blank space is left for the initial.

C. At the Saint Alban's press simple initials occur only in the Book of Hawking, Hunting and Coat-armours (1486).

D. At this press they do not seem to have been used at all.

2. *Borders.*

A. At Caxton's press they first appear in an edition of the Fifteen Oos and other prayers, which is almost certainly a supplement to an edition of the Primer, or Book of Hours, now lost. The date cannot be put further back than 1490-91.

B. At the Oxford press an elaborate border of four pieces, representing birds and flowers, is found in some (but not in all) copies of the two books printed there in October 1481 and July 1482; so that the date may probably be fixed at somewhat after July 1482.

C. At the Saint Alban's press there is no trace of the use of woodcut borders.

D. At William de Machlinia's press, the only instance I have found is in a fragment of a Primer in the University library at Cambridge, where there is a border, or frame of one piece containing flowers and birds¹, round the first page of the seven penitential psalms, commencing the second of the three constant portions of the Primer. Ames appears to have had

¹ [This is an oversight; there are no birds. The border passed to Pynson, and may be seen on the title-page of

his edition of *Aphthonii Praeexercitationum*, 1521, 8°. J.]

a copy of the whole book, but I have never been able to trace his copy and so can give no better account. The date may be put about 1485.

3. *Illustrations inserted in the text.*

A. The following cuts, or series of cuts, were engraved for works printed at Caxton's press :

(1) The Mirror of the world, 1st ed. (1481). A series of diagrams and a series of eleven cuts illustrating the text.

(2) The Game of chesse moralised, 2nd ed. (1483). A series of sixteen cuts.

(3) Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, 2nd ed. (1483). A series of twenty-three cuts.

(4) The Fables of Esop, &c. (March 26, 1484). A frontispice representing Esop, and series of 185 cuts.

(5) The Golden Legend, 1st ed. (1484). A large cut, for the frontispice, representing heaven, and two series of eighteen large and fifty-two small cuts, the large series including one of the device of the Earl of Arundel to whom the book is dedicated.

(6) A series representing the Passion. These were probably engraved for an edition of the *Horæ* in 8vo. now lost, and are only found scattered in other works.

(7) The *Speculum vitæ Christi*, 1st ed. (about 1487). A series of cuts illustrating the work ; but there are also some introduced from the Passion-series just mentioned. One, which appears to belong to the *Speculum* series, is not found there, but occurs in the *Twelve profits of Tribulation* (ab. 1490-91).

(8) The Primer or *Horæ* in 4to. (ab. 1490-91). No copy of the book is known, but what is probably a supplement, containing the Fifteen Oos and other prayers, gives us the cut of the Crucifixion, which forms one of the series of five, which is found complete in the *Horæ* of 1494, mentioned below.

(9) The Service for the Feast of the Transfiguration (about 1490-91). One cut.

B. At the Oxford press only two books are known with wood-cut illustrations, in neither case cut for the work :

(1) Lyndewode's *Provinciale* (about 1484-85).

(2) *Liber Festialis* (1486). The cut of the author in the

Lyndewode, and the eleven large cuts in the Festial may perhaps have been the commencement of a series engraved for an edition of the Golden Legend which was never executed. They certainly belong to no known book. The five small cuts in the Festial apparently belong to a lost Oxford edition of the Primer or *Horæ*.

C. At the Saint Alban's press, the only illustrations in the text are the coats of arms found in the Book of Hawking, Hunting and Coat-armours (1486).

D. At the press of John Lettou and Wm. de Machlinia, there is no trace of the use of any such illustrations.

4. *Printer's devices.*

A. At Caxton's press, the device, so familiar to most English bibliographers, was used first about Christmas 1489 in the second folio edition of the *Sarum Ordinale*. At first (as here, in the Dictes of the Philosophers, and in the History of Reynard the Fox) it was used at or close to the beginning of the volume. In Caxton's subsequent books it is always found at the end.

C. At the Saint Alban's press, the device with 'Sanctus Albanus' is found only in the English Chronicle (1483) and in the Book of Hawking, Hunting and Coat-armours (1486).

At the other two presses, there is no trace of the use of a device at all.

In the fount of type introduced about 1490-91, just before the end of Caxton's life (1491), we find the first signs of French influence on the English press. Up to that time, Belgium, Holland, and Cologne are the only sources to which we can trace the origin of the materials employed. The Oxford and Saint Alban's presses and that of William de Machlinia disappear in 1486; and Pynson (a Norman) appears first in London in 1493. So that about the year 1490 a break occurs in the history both of printing and engraving in this country, beyond which at present I have no means of going with much certainty.

So much for the facts relating to the first period of wood-engraving in England. I must now say something about the particular engravings which have led to these remarks.

The Indulgence known in England as the 'Image of pity' and on the Continent as the 'Mass of St Gregory' was very popular during the latter part of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth. The story is that, after a miraculous appearance of Our Lord to St Gregory while celebrating mass, that Pope granted to all such as should, in a state of grace, say particular devotions, a certain indulgence, which was increased by several subsequent Popes and other Bishops. These indulgences are found both on single sheets for distribution and in many of the written and printed copies of the Primer or Book of Hours. The total amount of the indulgence granted varies largely in different localities; but my present object is not to explain these variations, but to draw attention to the mode of treatment of the subject employed by the earliest wood-engravers in this country. Whether the artists were English born or foreigners, it is now impossible to say, as none of these engravings bear a name; but it is clear that they did not copy foreign woodcuts, but acted under English instructions, and represented the subject according to English taste.

In the cuts found in Holland, Belgium, France and Germany, there is a certain amount of similarity. St Gregory is kneeling before the altar; Our Lord appears on the altar; and all around the background is filled with the symbols of the Passion scattered about. In many copies of the Primer or Book of Hours written in England, a picture of the 'Imago pietatis' or 'Arma Crucifixi' is prefixed to the 'Psalms of the Passion.' St Gregory does not appear; but a half-length figure of Our Lord appearing above a tomb or altar, with the symbols grouped round him. When the custom of illustrating the printed *Horæ* with woodcuts was first adopted in England, about the year 1487, we find the figure of Our Lord represented in the same way, but the symbols of the Passion, with the exception of two or three, are arranged in little square compartments round the edge, so as to form a frame-work for the picture. I have traced four of these engravings, of different sizes, all engraved within a few years of each other, and all connected with Caxton's workshop at Westminster. They are

at present almost wholly unknown, though this indeed can hardly be a matter of surprise.

Perhaps the earliest of the four is a small square cut, measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., which occurs in an edition of the Primer, or Book of Hours, printed by Caxton about 1487. In this the figure of Our Lord is represented standing half out of a tomb or altar, with the hands crossed, and with the crown of thorns on his head, and the cruciform nimbus. By his right arm are the spear and the reed with the sponge, crossed; and by his left, the scourge with three thongs, and a bunch of twigs, also crossed. The other symbols of the Passion are ranged in eleven little compartments round three sides of the centre piece, thus:

4	5	6	7	8
3				9
2				10
1				11

Nos. 1 and 11 are each double the height of the others. The contents of the compartments are as follows:

1. The ladder of the cross.
2. The hammer and pincers, crossed.
3. An open left hand, striking.
4. The head of a priest mocking.
5. The cock crowing.
6. The *sudarium* of St Veronica.
- 7, 8. Heads of Caiaphas and Pilate.
9. A right hand pulling the hair.
10. The three nails.
11. The pillar with the cords.

The following text occupies six lines across the page below the cut, and the two together form a complete page of this tiny volume:

To them that before this yma
ge of pyte deuoutly say .v. Pr
noster, v. Auyes & a credo py-
tously beholdyng these armes of
xps passyon ar graunted xxxij
M, vij C. & lv, yeres of pardon

The book is only known from a fragment of four leaves rescued from the binding of a book (together with eight leaves of another edition in the same type¹ and equally unknown) by Mr Maskell, who presented them to the British Museum in 1858. But though the Book is not otherwise known, the same cut was used in a subsequent edition of the *Horæ*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde (Caxton's successor) in 1502, of which a copy exists in the Gough collection in the Bodleian Library. A careful facsimile, made by Mr G. I. F. Tupper, from Mr Maskell's fragment, may be seen in Mr Blades's *Life and Typography of Wm. Caxton*, Plate XLVIII.

A still smaller cut (the smallest I have seen), measuring $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{5}{16}$ in., occurs in an edition of the *Horæ* without date, but unquestionably printed in Caxton's house at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde about 1494². In this cut, Our Lord is represented as in the last described, only without the crown of thorns. By his right arm is the spear, and by his left the reed with the sponge. The other symbols are ranged in thirteen compartments round three sides of the centre piece,

5	6	7	8	9
4				10
3				11
2				12
1				13

The contents of the compartments are as follows:

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. The ladder. | 2. The three dice. |
| 3. The left foot. | 4. The cock crowing. |
| 5. The head of a priest mocking. | |
| 6. The head of Herod (?). | |
| 7. The <i>sudarium</i> of St Veronica. | |

¹ The type is that used in the first folio edition of the *Sarum Ordinale* mentioned below, as well as in the *Speculum vitæ Christi*, and other books, all ranging from 1486 or 1487 to 1491.

² The type of the text is that used

in the *Scala perfectionis* printed there in 1494; and that of the *Kalendar* is that used in the *Festial* and *Four Sermons* printed in the same house in 1493-94.

- 8, 9. Heads of Pilate and Caiaphas.
10. A right hand pulling the hair.
11. The pincers and hammer, crossed.
12. The three nails, crossed.
13. The pillar.

The whole cut, including the compartments, is exactly the same size as the centre piece of the one last described. It here occupies the lower inner corner of a page. The text, which is the same as in that described above, is at the side, and forms part of a page printed in the ordinary way. There are two copies of the book in the University Library, and one in the Library at Lambeth Palace¹.

But besides these I have to describe two separate indulgences, both formerly in our University Library, though the second alone remains there now.

The first, which measures $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $5\frac{7}{8}$ in., is printed on a single leaf in folio. The text of the indulgence is not printed with moveable types, but cut in wood like the rest. Our Lord is standing in the tomb, half length, the hands crossed and showing the wounds bleeding, and the wound on the right breast; the head (with the cruciform nimbus) inclined to the right shoulder. Behind the head and shoulders is the cross, and above the head the label with I. N. R. I. Upright on either side are the spear by Our Lord's right arm and the reed with the sponge by his left. Below is the text of the indulgence; but in the only known copy this has been cut out, leaving only just enough to identify the first two words (*vij hundreth*) of the last line. The text was no doubt identical with that in those already described. The frame-work is composed of twenty-eight small square compartments, thus :

¹ The copy now at Lambeth is the 'Book of prayers' described by Fuller, which has caused much perplexity both to Herbert (*Typogr. Antiq.* i. 235) and to Dr Maitland (*List of early printed books at Lambeth*, No. 507, and note FF). The latter writer places the book after 1520, but it is quite impossible

that it can have been printed later than 1495. In Fuller's time it belonged to our University as part of the Lambeth Library, which was here from 1647 to 1662; and the Cambridge library-mark, which the cover still bears, shows that it was treated, while here, as among the chief treasures of the collection.

9	10	11	12	13	14	15
8						16
7						17
6						18
5						19
4						20
3						21
2						22
1	28	27	26	25	24	23

The contents of the compartments, which, it will be seen, are arranged with a certain regard to symmetry, are as follows :

1. The vessel for the vinegar (Mt. 27. 48).
2. The vessel for the wine mingled with myrrh (Mk. 15. 23).
3. Two bunches of twigs, crossed.
4. The pillar with cords, between two scourges.
5. The pincers and hammer, crossed.
6. The lantern (John 18. 3).
7. A left hand, pulling the hair.
8. The cup (Luke 22. 42)¹.
9. The pelican in her piety (i.e. feeding her young with her own blood).
10. The head of a priest, mocking.
11. The head of Herod.
12. The *sudarium* of St Veronica.
- 13, 14. The heads of Pilate and Caiaphas.
15. The cock, crowing.
16. The basin and ewer (Mt. 27. 24).
17. An open right hand, striking (Mt. 26. 67).
18. The (thirty) pieces of silver.
19. A sword and club, crossed.
20. The seamless coat.
21. The ladder, for the cross.
22. Two staves crossed.
23. The crown of thorns.

¹ Rather this, I think, than the cup at the last supper, when we compare the frequent representation of the cup in pictures of the agony in the garden, as (to give two among many examples)

in a cut in the *Horæ* of 1494 above mentioned, and in one of the windows in King's College Chapel, where the motto is 'Pater si vis transfer, Luc. 22'.

24. The linen cincture.
25. The three nails of the cross.
26. Judas kissing our Lord.
27. The three dice (John 19. 24).
28. The three pots of spices (Mk. 16. 1).

This leaf is bound in at the beginning of a copy of the first folio edition of the *Sarum Ordinale*, which must have been printed about 1487-88, as the type used by Caxton in the book is only found from about 1487 to 1491, and the book itself was reprinted at Antwerp in 1488. The woodcut may safely be assigned to the same period. The volume formed part of the collection bequeathed to our University Library by Dr Holdsworth in 1648; but it was stolen¹ from here in or shortly before 1778, and soon afterwards was 'bought of a man introduced by Dr Nugent' by Wm. Bayntun, Esq., of Gray's Inn, after whose death it came into the possession of King George III., and passed with the rest of the King's library into the British Museum, where it now remains. No other copy, either of the book or of the woodcut here described, is known to exist. I am indebted to Mr G. I. F. Tupper for a pencil tracing of the woodcut.

¹ Several very precious books, besides the one here mentioned, were missed from the University Library between 1770 and 1780. One, the unique copy of the earliest known edition of the *Salisbury Breviary* (pr. at Venice in 1483), and that on vellum, came into the possession of Count Mac Carthy, the famous collector of vellum-printed books; and at his death was bought, for about two pounds, for the National Library in Paris, where I saw it in 1867, the Cambridge library-mark being only in part obliterated. Another, the almost unique copy of the first printed English translation of the *Psalms* (the *Psalter of Feline*, printed at Argentine for Francis Foxe in 1530) was for some time in the possession of Dr Combe, the well-known antiquary and coin-

collector. The Cambridge library-mark has been partly (and very roughly) rubbed out, and the book, rebound with 'Charles Combe M.D.' on the sides, now forms part of a very choice collection of early Bibles, &c. purchased from Dr Combe by the British Museum. I have little doubt that it was this same Dr Combe, who appropriated most of the precious books which disappeared from our shelves at that period. It is but fair to say that those I have mentioned were, while here, not treated as of any particular value. The Library was freely accessible, and these books all stood on the open shelves in the compartments close to the entrance, affording very strong temptations to any unscrupulous collector.

The second cut which I have mentioned is one which I discovered quite recently in the University Library, and which has led to the present communication. In this, which measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{5}{8}$ in., Our Lord is represented, as in the last, with his hands crossed, in front of the cross, at the head of which is the usual label. On his head is the crown of thorns. Upright, on either side, are the spear and the reed with the sponge. Below this is the text of the indulgence, as follows:

To them that before
this ymage of pyte de
uowtely say .v. P̄r n̄r
v. Aueys & a Credo. py-
teously beholdyng these
armes of x̄ps passiō ar-
graūted xxxij.M. vij.C
& .lv. yeres of pardon::

The centre piece and the text below it are surrounded on three sides by the symbols of the Passion, arranged in eighteen compartments, thus:

7	8	9	10	11
6				12
5				13
4				14
3				15
2				16
				17
1				18

The whole is enclosed within a simple line. The contents of the compartments are as follows:

- 1 (in height equal to two of the others). A monk kneeling, with a scroll, the legend of which I have not been able to read.
2. The three dice.
3. A left hand, pulling the hair.
4. The three nails of the cross.
5. The pincers and hammer, crossed.
6. An open right hand, striking.
- 7, 8. The heads of Caiaphas and Pilate.



9. The *sudarium* of St Veronica.
10. The cock, crowing.
11. The head of a priest, mocking.
12. A sword and club, crossed.
13. The lantern.
14. The (thirty) pieces of silver.
15. Two bunches of twigs, crossed.
16. The pillar, with cords.
17. The ladder.
18. The seamless coat.

The text of the indulgence is printed in the same type as that of the *Ordinale* above-mentioned, and the date must therefore range from 1487 to 1491. But the most singular thing is that what we have in the University Library is not an ordinary impression on a quarter-sheet of paper, but a mere trial on the blank last page of a book with which the indulgence has nothing to do. It seems as if, when the form was ready, some one had dabbed it with some brown sloppy substance, and had then picked up a book accidentally lying near, and had taken off an impression of the form, to see how it would look. The page of the book being quite dry and crisp and of uneven surface, and the stuff used for ink not having the consistency of printer's ink, the impression produced is very far from complete. I can only say that the facsimile¹ executed for me by Mr G. I. F. Tupper, gives a more faithful representation of the original than I could have believed possible. The book which has been used for the impression is a copy of the *Colloquium peccatoris et Crucifixi J. C.*, printed at Antwerp by Mathias van der Goes about 1487, and is one of several pieces bound together in a volume which came to us as part of the Haldsworth collection; the latest piece being a manuscript of the 'Liber spiritualis gracie,' transcribed at the Charterhouse in London in 1492. No properly printed copy of this indulgence is known, and as I only discovered this quite recently, it is of course not described in Mr Blades's monograph on Caxton's press.

I have perhaps described these cuts more at length than

¹ See the lithographed facsimile which accompanies the present communication. [See Prefatory note. J.]

may seem necessary; but a careful collection of facts, apparently even the most unimportant, sometimes turns out to be of more use than was expected. I will now only add a few words about two other separate cuts, which differ from those before-mentioned in the amount of the indulgence granted. One formerly belonged to Mr Wm. Young Ottley, and is now in the British Museum. The other is in the Minster Library at Lincoln, and still remains in the prayer-book into which it must have been fastened at the time.

The first, which measures $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{9}{16}$ in., has been reproduced in tolerably accurate facsimile by Mr Ottley in his *Inquiry concerning the invention of printing* (4to. London, 1863), and he has given some account of its history (see page 198 and Plate VII of that work). 'I had the good fortune,' Mr Ottley says, 'to discover this little wood-cut several years ago, stitched on a blank leaf at the beginning of a manuscript book of devotion, on vellum, which I judged to be of the latter part of the fifteenth century. But it was evident from the numerous needle-holes in the margin, that it had been, in like manner, sewed into at least two other books, previously: besides which, it appears, from the back of the print, that in the first instance it had been folded, and that for a length of time it had been carried about by the devout possessor of it in a small pocket-book. This piece is printed in a brown tint by friction.' Our Lord is represented in the usual way, half-length, with the hands crossed, the wound in the right side bleeding, the head inclined towards the right shoulder, with the usual nimbus, but without the crown of thorns. Behind him the cross, and over his head the label with the following inscription¹:

: Ó : BÁC ÍΛΕΥC hórá : 3á

On either side of the head are the words I \overline{C} and X \overline{C} ; on either side of the body, the words *Ecce* and *homo*. Below is the

¹ Mr E. M. Thompson, of the British Museum, suggested to me 'hora 3*' as the reading which Ottley was unable to decipher; and I have no hesitation in accepting it. The words

in St Mark are (xv. 25, 26): 'Erat autem *hora tertia*: et crucifixerunt eum. Et erat titulus causæ ejus inscriptus: REX JUDÆORUM (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).'

text of the indulgence, consisting of the following two rhyming couplets, occupying six lines:

Seynt gregor' with oþir' . popes. | & bysshoppes yn feer'.
 Haue graū- | ted' of pardon xxvj dayes: & xxvj. Mill' | yeer'.
 To þeym þat befor' þis fy- | gur' on þeir' knees.
 Deuoutly say | .v. pater noster .&. v. Auees.

From the character of the letters Mr Ottley was inclined to think it might be as old as the St Christopher of 1423. But this is at best conjecture. There can be little doubt that it is earlier than those I have described, but the writing points to a more northern part of England and to a different family of indulgences. It would be some slight clue to its origin if the little book of devotion were still traceable, showing to what part of the country it belonged. Meantime it is safer to suspend our judgment, until further evidence be forthcoming.

The other, which I first discovered at Lincoln in 1865, is pasted on to one of the leaves of a manuscript book of devotions in such a way that the writing nearly surrounds it, showing that the cut was there before the scribe began his work upon the page. The book formerly belonged to a religious house in Lincolnshire. It will be observed that the amount of the indulgence is the same as in Mr Ottley's *Ecce homo*. It represents our Lord standing half out of a tomb, his hands crossed, his whole body covered with wounds, his head inclined towards his right shoulder, and with the crown of thorns and the usual nimbus. Behind is the cross, with the label and .I. N. R. I. above his head. By his right arm is the spear, and by his left the reed with the sponge. Above these, in the upper corners of the frame, are the words I H S and X P S. Below, on the face of the altar or tomb, is the text:

The pardon for .v. P̄r n̄r .v.
 aues & a crede is xxvj. M.
 yeres & xxvj. dayes:

The whole is within a frame-work of three simple lines and

measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. I have a pencil tracing of it made by myself at the time¹.

It is probable that other cuts of the kind may be found, fastened into prayer-books, or in Printed Primers which I have not seen; but I have here described all the early ones that have come to my knowledge. Indeed the only other early specimens of English wood-engraving of which I can hear anything, are (1) the stanzas on the seven virtues, of which a fragment, formerly in the Weigel collection, is now in the British Museum², but to which I see no means at present of affixing any date; and (2) a curious cut of a lion in Ely Cathedral, to which my attention was drawn a short time since by the Rev. D. J. Stewart. It is fixed against one of the pillars in the choir, close to the tomb of Bishop Gray, whose device it represents. As the Bishop died in 1479, the engraving falls naturally almost into the very period in which, as I have shown above, we find the first authenticated specimens of the art in connexion with printed books.

With a view of taking stock of our knowledge on this subject, I have often thought of drawing up a technical list of the woodcuts used to illustrate the printed books of the first few generations of the art; discriminating the single cuts and series according to the works which they were originally designed to illustrate, and tracing their origin, as well as their subsequent history, which sometimes shows the most grotesque application of a cut to a subject very remote from the mind of the original engraver. So far as England is concerned, the first chapter would contain the productions of the decade from 1481 to 1490, which I have roughly sketched out above. The second chapter would contain (1) those used in Caxton's house at Westminster

¹ When I first saw this in 1865, I was under the impression that it might be earlier than those in the printed *Horæ* described above. But when I saw it again last year (1872), having seen a considerable number of early cuts in the interval, it was clear to me, that it could not be placed earlier than the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The manuscript in which it occurs (A. 6. 15 in the Minster library) is of the XVth century, so far as the body of the book goes, but the writing which surrounds the cut is part of a supplement, which may fairly be placed at the close of Henry the Seventh's reign.

² [Tab. xi. b (1). See note at the end of this paper. J.]

until his successor Wynkyn de Worde's removal to the Sun in Fleet-street in 1500; (2) those used by Richard Pynson while dwelling outside Temple Bar from 1493 till his removal to the George in Fleet-street in 1503; and (3) those used by Julian Notary, first with his two partners, John Barbier and J. H., at the sign of St Thomas, next with John Barbier in 1498, and then by himself in King-street, Westminster, until his removal to the house late Pynson's, outside Temple Bar, in 1503. And so on with later periods and other countries. Lists such as this would enable us to make comparisons between copies and their originals; as, for instance, between the delicate work of the cuts used in Jacob Bellaert's edition of *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum* (fol. Haarlem, 1485) and the extremely rough copies of them used in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of the book printed at Westminster about eleven years later. They would show how the cut originally used in 1483 to represent the supper of the Canterbury pilgrims at the Tabard, was employed afterwards for Lydgate's Assembly of Gods. We should see how a cut designed in the first instance to illustrate Gerard Leeu's edition of the *Dialogue of Salomon and Marcolphus* in English (4to. Antwerp, ab. 1492), found its way to England, and was used by several successive printers in this country (not a copy, but the original cut), for their editions of *Howleglas*; as may be seen by comparing the British Museum copies of *Howleglas* (reproduced by Mr Frederic Ouvry) with Gerard Leeu's *Salomon and Marcolphus* in the Bodleian Library. An attempt in the direction I have suggested is to be found in Dr Walther's Guide to the Darmstadt Library, where, after giving a list of the *Incunabula typographica*, he adds a list of early illustrated books arranged according to the schools and periods to which the engravings severally belong. The admirable sketch in Renouvier's *Histoire ...de la gravure dans les Pays-Bas et en Allemagne* (8vo. Bruxelles, 1860), would have been even more valuable than it is, had any catalogue, such as I have suggested, been in existence, showing how the cuts travelled from town to town, passing from one printer to another, sometimes even only on loan. By proceeding on some such systematic method, we should soon

learn a good deal more of the history of the art than we know at present.

N.B. Throughout these remarks I have used the term *wood-engraving* to signify that process which is used in engraving upon wood. I am not in a position to decide whether the material used for most of the engravings mentioned above was wood or soft metal, and for the purpose I have in view the decision is not of primary importance. My chief wish is to contribute towards a systematic arrangement of the actual specimens of engraving which have come down to us.

NOTE ON AN ENGLISH BLOCK-PRINTED BROADSIDE¹.

M. WEIGEL'S interesting fragment, described at p. 53, cannot be considered part of a moral play, or any such production. If any one will glance at the various lists of John Lydgate's works, he will see enough to show him that this is a set of stanzas on the seven theological virtues, written most probably for scrolls to be put above or beneath figures representing these virtues on the wall of a room, or in some such position, as many of Lydgate's verses are known to have been. The Harleian Collection is almost sure to furnish a complete copy of them, as verses on the three divine and four cardinal virtues. They do not appear in the large collections of Lydgate in Trinity College library here. The metre is the ordinary eight-line stanza used by Chaucer in the *Monk's Tale*, and by Lydgate in many of his pieces. Each stanza consists of two quatrains, in which the second rhyme of the first gives the first rhyme to the second. The two quatrains of each stanza are, in the xylographic fragment, arranged side by side; in the reprint they are arranged in the ordinary way. It will be seen that though the stanzas are all numbered, yet they are wrongly arranged; but by putting them according to their numbers,

¹ Contributed by Mr Bradshaw to *Le Bibliophile Illustré*, 1 Décembre, 1863.

the following order comes out:—| Faith, || Hope, ||| Charite, the three divine virtues; and ||| Attemperaunce, |||| Justice, /| Prudence, and /|| Force (or Strength), the four cardinal virtues. The form of the numbers is curious, but easily understood. They were inaccurately given in the description at p. 55; for the sloping line is not a broken V at all, but, as may be seen from the facsimile, merely part of a simple method of representing the numbers by a series of lines. The first and last stanzas should have been printed thus:—

. . . [Faith]

.
 . . . her am I sent by our god prouidence.
 . . . he we mankynde by doctryne euydent.
 . . . meane to amende his original offense

.
 Wil
 But by the meanes of christes innocence
 I fayth shalbrynge him fro captiuyte

*

*

*

. . rudence /|

. . that gyveth hym vnto negligence.
 . . r lacke of wit falleth into myserye.

.

 For lacke of wysedome liuyng in prouertye.
 Therefore he that wol lerne prouydence.
 . . . hym selfe from al aduersyte.

I am indebted to Mr C. J. Stewart for a sight of M. Weigel's facsimile of the whole fragment; for it is extremely difficult to get a clear idea of such a thing from a verbal description, however good.

HENRY BRADSHAW.

VII. THE SKELETON OF CHAUCER'S CANTERBURY TALES¹.

THE following sheets have been printed solely for purposes of collation. Having found between fifty and sixty copies of the Canterbury Tales, and having further noticed that very few of them have the contents in the same order, I have been able, after a minute examination of a good number, so far to break the work up into what I have been led to believe were the fragments as left by the author, that it is now comparatively easy to describe, on finding any particular manuscript, in what order or disorder the contents are placed. Further than this, I have found it possible to say in very many cases what order any manuscript gives evidence of, however great the disorder may seem to be at first sight.

The great majority of manuscripts may be ranged in three classes, which have such clear characteristics that any one, on taking a book into his hand, could readily distinguish to which class his book belongs. Having advanced so far, it struck me at once that by putting down on paper the beginnings and endings of the divisions and subdivisions of the fragments to which I had reduced the work, and by adding to this any lines or passages in which there was either much known discrepancy in reading, or else some matter which bore upon the general action of the story (such as mention of time of day, place, neighbourhood, &c.), I might then print fifty or sixty copies of this, and use one copy for writing in a collation of each known manuscript, so as to shew its peculiarities. I had no doubt that manuscripts of the same family in matter of arrangement would also contain for the most part readings of the same family in the text; and it would

¹ Published as Memorandum No. 4, November, 1871.

be a short way of classifying all the known manuscripts for the use of any future editor of the *Canterbury Tales*. To each Fragment I have prefixed a note to say in what varieties of state the different portions are more generally found, so as to be a ready guide when any manuscript is actually under examination.

It is evident from this statement that my purpose in printing these sheets is purely temporary; but it has struck me that by printing a few more copies than were necessary for my immediate object, and circulating them among those who take an interest in the textual criticism of our early literature, and especially of Chaucer, they might see how very far we are as yet from the possibility of a satisfactory edition of Chaucer, and how much it lies in any scholar's power to lend a helping hand.

The three classes into which the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* may be readily distinguished are as follows:

1. This is the least correct¹. In Frag. I. the story of Gamelyn is found. In Frag. II. the link at the end is retained and made generally to introduce the Squyere. In Frag. IV. the concluding stanza of the tale (beginning: 'For which here for the wyves love of Bathe') is not found at all; in the song immediately following, the last three stanzas are transposed so as to end: 'y 3ow counseyle'; and the link-stanza at the end ('This worthy clerk,' &c.) is not found at all. In Frag. V. the introductory link is wanting, and the link at the end is per-

¹ In the editions of 1532—1721 a text of this class forms the basis, as is shown by the facts that the stanzas in the song at the end of the Clerk's tale are in the wrong order, and that the modern instances in the Monk's tale are in the middle; but the original editor, William Thynne, added to this any additional matter which he thought worthy of insertion from manuscripts of another class, without regard to the confusion which he was thereby creating—a species of confusion which is never found in the

manuscripts. This is easily seen by tabulating the contents of one of the early editions according to the system I have adopted. Tyrwhitt saw the confusion caused by this process, and rectified it from the manuscripts; but nothing short of reducing all that remains of the work to its constituent parts and testing these by the actual evidence of manuscripts will enable us to trace out the ground and origin of all the disarrangements so as to prepare the way for a better settlement of the text.

verted so as to apply (generally) to the Frankeleyn. In Frag. VI. the link at the end is perverted so as to introduce the Merchaunt. In Frag. VIII. the link at the end is found. In Frag. IX. the spurious link introducing the Shipman is found at the end. In Frag. X. the Monk's tale contains the modern instances (Peter of Spain, Peter of Cyprus, Bernabo Visconti and Ugolino) between Zenobia and Nero; and the link is retained at the end of the tale of the Nonnes Prest.

2. This seems the most authentic, if I may use the term, and is that of the MS. used by Mr Tho. Wright, Mr Robert Bell and Mr Morris. In Frag. I. Gamelyn is retained. In Frag. II. the link at the end is generally retained though useless. In Frag. IV. the concluding stanza (For which here, &c.) is found; the last three stanzas of the song are in right order; but the link stanza is wanting. In Frag. V. the introductory link is in its place, and the link at the end is correct, introducing the Squyere. In Frag. VI. the link at the end is correct, introducing the Frankeleyn. Frag. VIII. occurs in its right place, and sometimes has, sometimes has not, the link at the end. Frag. IX. is without the spurious link at the end introducing the Shipman. In Frag. X. the modern instances in the Monk's tale are in the middle; and the link at the end of the Nonnes Prest's tale is sometimes found and sometimes not.

3. This is the order adopted by Tyrwhitt from several MSS. It agrees in the main with No. 2, but the alterations seem to be all the result of some editorial supervision exercised after Chaucer's death, and in most cases the reason for the change is easily ascertained. In Frag. I. Gamelyn is suppressed. In Frag. II. the end-link is suppressed. In Frag. IV. the concluding stanza is in its place (For which here, &c.); the last three stanzas of the song are in right order (ending: 'wringe and wayle'); and the link-stanza at the end generally occurs. In Frag. V. the introductory and concluding links are correct. In Frag. VI. the concluding link is correct. Frag. VIII. is moved to between X. and XI. and the link at the end is suppressed. Frag. IX. is without the spurious link at the end. In Frag. X. the modern instances in the Monk's tale are removed to the end of the tale; and the link at the

end of the Nonnes Prest's tale is sometimes suppressed, and sometimes found and applied so as to introduce the Nonne.

Various attempts have been made to bring the tales into order of time and place. This however seems now an impossibility. The test passages are few and simple, though some of them have hitherto been overlooked. In Frag. I. (in the link between the Millere and the Reve) they are by Depeford and it is halfway pryme; (the reading *passed pryme* appears to mean much the same). In Frag. VI. the Squyere will not tarry them 'for it is pryme'. In Frag. II. at the beginning 'it was ten of the klok'. In Frag. X. they are by Rochester (just before the Monk's tale). In Frag. III. (near the beginning) they are some little way short of Sittingbourne, and at the end they are 'almost at town', apparently some stopping place, but what is not indicated. In Frag. IV. the words of the Clerk seem to allude to the Wyf's tale. In Frag. V. there is a clear allusion to the Wyf's tale as already told. In Frag. VIII. the Chanon's 3eman saw them ride out of their hostelry 'now in the morwe tyde' and they were then at Boughton under Blee. In Frag. XI. they are at Bob-up-and-down under the Blee (whether Boughton or Harbledown is an equal difficulty), and the Hoste reproaches the Cook with being asleep 'by the morwe', and it is clearly morning from the other circumstances. In Frag. XII. at the beginning it was four in the afternoon and they were near Canterbury. Did the pilgrims sleep on the way? Do the Somnour's concluding words point to the place where they broke the journey? There are difficulties enough for the most patient investigator if he chooses to try and solve them.

At present this statement is only provisional, but it will serve as a fair guide until the collations are more fully completed. The tests of Fragments IV. V. and VI. are the simplest, especially IV. (the Clerk's tale).

I will only add that the present sheets contain a first attempt at *orthography*. Without orthography it is impossible to teach or to gain a really accurate knowledge of a language. By a minute and careful study of the rhyme, I am convinced that it is possible to see how Chaucer pronounced many thou-

sand words, or at least, what sets of words he pronounced in the same way; and if starting from that knowledge we proceed to the investigation (in etymology, &c.) of the cause of that agreement we shall get to some sound basis of grammatical knowledge. We all know that to spell correctly requires that our eyes and the eyes of the people with whom we live should be educated by constant reading in a way that no fourteenth century scribe's eyes could possibly be. As many of us are at work now at this very point, it is needless to say more on this head in this place, except that what is printed of Chaucer's here is the result of my present knowledge on the subject, and that I shall be most grateful to any one who will point out what is wrong and why it is so, that we may gradually gain some substantial knowledge which can be taught and applied.

HENRY BRADSHAW.

CAMBRIDGE,

8 September 1867.

NOTE AT THE END OF THE PUBLISHED MEMORANDUM.

UNTIL a day or two ago, when the preceding sheets were brought to me from the University Press, I was fully under the impression that they had been cancelled and the type distributed early in 1868. I came to the conclusion that the remarks were too crude even for such a temporary publication as I then contemplated, and I accordingly had a few copies struck off containing nothing but the beginnings and ends of the several Fragments and their component parts. These I thought might perhaps be useful to any person who had opportunities of access to manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales.

Four years have witnessed a considerable advance in the study of Chaucer both in this country and elsewhere; and Mr Furnivall's labours during that period have put far out of date any work that I have ever done upon this subject. Nevertheless, as the sheets are still standing in type, and they represent a certain amount of thought and labour and the views which I held at that time (since, of course, very much modified), I have thought it worth while to have a few copies struck off, rather as a memorial of past work than as an earnest of what is to come. Every day seems to render it less likely that I shall ever put my hand again to any work of the kind.

H. B.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE:

November 23, 1871.

A TABLE OF THE TWELVE FRAGMENTS OF THE CANTERBURY TALES

REFERRED TO IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES.

FR. I.

1. General Prologue.
2. The Knyght.
3. Link.
4. The Millere.
5. Link.
6. The Reve.
7. Link.
8. The Cook.
* * *
9. Gamelyn.
* * *

FR. II.

- * * *
1. Prologue.
 2. The Man of lawe.
 3. Link.
* * *

FR. III.

- * * *
1. Link.
 2. The Wyf of Bathe.
 3. Link.
 4. The Frere.
 5. Link.
 6. The Somnour.
* * *

FR. IV.

- * * *
1. Prologue.
 2. The Clerk.
 3. Link.
* * *

FR. V.

1. Link.
2. The Merchaunt.
3. Link.

FR. VI.

- * * *
1. The Squyere.
* * *
 2. Link.

FR. VII.

- * * *
1. The Frankeleyn.
* * *

FR. VIII.

- * * *
1. The Secounde Nonne.
 2. The Chanouns Zeman.
* * *

FR. IX.

- * * *
1. The Doctour of Phisyk.
 2. The Pardonere.
* * *

FR. X.

- * * *
1. The Shipman.
 2. Link.
 3. The Prioress.
 4. Link.
 5. Chaucer's Sire Thopace.
 6. Link.
 7. Chaucer's Melibee.
 8. Link.
 9. The Monk.
 10. Link.
 11. The Nonnes Preest.
 12. Link.
* * *

FR. XI.

- * * *
1. Prologue.
 2. The Maunciple.
* * *

FR. XII.

- * * *
1. Link.
 2. The Person.

FRAGMENT I.

1. General Prologue.—2. The KNIGHTES Tale of Palemoun and Arcyte.—
 3. Link.—4. The MILLERES Tale of the Oxford Scholar and the Carpenter.—
 5. Link.—6. The REVES Tale of the two Cambridge Scholars and the Miller of
 Trumpington.—7. Link.—8. The COOKS Tale of the unthrifty prentice (un-
 finished).— * * * 9. The COOKS Tale of Gamelyn. * * *

THIS Fragment necessarily occupies the first place in every copy of the Canterbury tales, and down to the point where the Cook's tale breaks off abruptly there is no difference worth mentioning to be found in the manuscripts. In a few copies the unfinished Cook's tale is omitted altogether, possibly with the view of giving a greater appearance of completeness to the work. The story of Gamelyn stands by itself; all the links of two or more couplets which are sometimes found to introduce the tale, are, I think, unquestionably spurious, but I do not see any solid ground for rejecting the tale itself. It must stand at the end of this fragment, for it is always associated with this place in the poem; and none of the copies which contain the tale ever link it on to any other portion, so far as my examination has reached. It is in loose rhyming couplets, but it is not in that alliterative rhythm of which Chaucer speaks with such contempt; though it is on the ground of its alliteration that most critics have rejected it. The grammatical forms as evidenced by the rhymes are, I believe, absolutely those of Chaucer; at least *cām* (venit) rhyming with *nāmē* (ceperunt) is the only violation which I have detected as yet; and I am not aware that the parallel forms *ȝing* (indef.) and *ȝonge* (definite) are both found in Chaucer.

It is in anybody's power to render a good service to students of early English by investigating these questions. The words which occur in rhyme are of course the only forms which are of any use for this purpose.

1. General Prologue, beginning (line 1)

*Here beginneth the prolog of the Canterburie Tales
compyled by Geffrey Chaucer.*

WHAN that Aprille with his shoures swote
The drought of March hath perced to the rote
And bathed every veyne in swich licour
Of which vertu engendred is the flour
Whan Zephirus eke with his swote breth
Enspired hath in every holt and heth
The tendre croppes and the 3onge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halve cours ironne

lines 19—27:

Befel that in that sesoun on a day
In Southwerk at the Tabard as y lay
Redy to wenden on my pilgrimage
To Canterburie with ful devout corage
At nyght was come into that hostelrye
Wel nyne and twenty in a compaynye
Of sondry folk by aventure ifalle
In felawshipe and pilgrymes were they alle
That toward Canterburie wolde ryde.

line 43:

A Knyght¹ ther was and that a worthy man

line 79:

With him ther was his sone a 3ong Squyere²

line 101:

A 3eman³ hadde he and servauntes no mo

line 118:

There was also a Nonne a Prioeresse⁴

lines 163—165

Another Nonne⁵ with hire had she †certeyn
And eke a Prest⁶† that was here chapelleyne.
A Monk⁷ ther was a fayr for the maystrye

line 208:

A Frere⁸ there was a wanton and a merie

line 270:

A Merchaunt⁹ was ther with a forked berd

line 285:

A Clerk¹⁰ ther was of Oxenforde also

line 309:

A Serjaunt¹¹ of the lawe war and wys

line 331:

A Frankeleyn¹² was in his compaynye

lines 361—363:

An Haberdasshere¹³ and a Carpenter¹⁴
A Webbe¹⁵ a Dyere¹⁶ and a Tapisere¹⁷
Were with us eke clothed in o liveree

line 379:

A Cook¹⁸ they hadde with hem for the nones

line 388:

A Shipman¹⁹ was ther woninge fer by weste

line 411:

Ther was also a Doctour of phisyk²⁰

line 445:

A good Wyf²¹ was ther of besyde Bathe

lines 477, 478:

A good man was ther of religioun
And was a poore Person²² of a toun

† This emendation is my own. It is quite in the style of the copyists' emendations, where the links intended to introduce one speaker are perverted so as to introduce another; but Tyrwhitt's

explanation seems the best, that a passage was probably cut out at this point, and that the text was carelessly patched by some one else, so as to render the lines almost nonsense.

line 529:

With him ther was a Ploughman²³ that was his brother

lines 542—544:

There was also a Reeve²⁴ and a Millere²⁵

A Sompnour²⁶ and a Pardonere²⁷ also

A Maunciple²⁸ and myself²⁹ ther was no mo.

line 792—797:

This is the poynt to speke it plat and pleyn

That eche of ȝow to shorten with ȝoure weye

In this vyage shal telle tales tweye

To Canterburie ward y mene it so

And homward he shal tellen othere two

Of aventures that whylom han befallē.

lines 824—833:

A morwe whan the day began to springe

Up ros oure Hoste and was oure aller cok

And gadered us togeder in a flok

And forth we ryde a litel more than pas

Unto the watering of seynt Thomas

And there oure Hoste began his hors areste

And seyde Lordes herkeneth if ȝow leste

ȝe wite oure forward and y it recorde

If even song and morwe song acorde

Let see now who shal telle first a tale.

The Prologue ends thus (lines 858—860):

And with that word we ryde forth oure weye

And he began with ryght a merie chere

His tale anon and seyde as ȝe shule here.

Here endeth the prolog.

2. The Knyght, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Knyghtes tale.

WHYLOM as olde stories tellen us

lines 34, 35:

There as y lafte y wil aȝeyn beginne.

THIS duk of whom y made mencion

ending (line 2250):

And God save all this fayre compaynye.

Here endeth the Knyghtes tale.

3. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Milleres prolog.

WHAN that the Knyght had thus his tale itold
ending (line 76):

And ek men shule not make ernest of game.

Here endeth the Milleres prolog.

4. The Millere, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Milleres tale.

WHYLOM there was dwellinge in Oxenforde
ending (line 666):

This tale is don and God save al the rowte.

Here endeth the Milleres tale.

5. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Reeves prolog.

WHAN folk had loughen of this nyce cas
lines 51—54:

Seye forth thy tale and tarie not the tyme

Lo Depeford and it is half way pryme

Lo Grenewich there many a shrewe is inne

It were al tyme thy tale to beginne.

ending (line 66):

But in his owene he can not seen a balk.

Here endeth the Reeves prolog.

6. The Reeve, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Reeves tale.

AT Trompingtoun not fer fro Cantebrigge

ending (line 404):

Thus have y quit the millere in my tale.

Here endeth the Reeves tale.

7. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Cookes prolog.

THE Cook of London whyl the Reeve spak

ending (line 40):

And seyde his tale as 3e shule after here.

Here endeth the Cookes prolog.

8. The Cook, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Cookes tale.

A PRENTIS whylom dwelte in oure citee

ending (line 58):

A shoppe and swyved for hire sustenance.

* * * * *

9. Gamelyn, beginning (line 1):

Lytheth and listneth and herkeneth aryght

ending (line 902):

God bringe us to the joye that evere shal be.

Amen.

* * * * *

FRAGMENT II.

* * * 1. Prologue.—2. The MAN OF LAWES Tale of Constaunce.—3. Link. * * *

THIS fragment is found in two states. In its earlier state it has at the end twenty-eight lines forming a link to introduce another tale, apparently that of the Squyere. As the work went on Chaucer seems to have given a character to the Squyere not quite in harmony with the description here given, and so in the later stage of the work this link is cancelled. The critics have unfortunately looked upon Chaucer's great work as simply a collection of twenty-four tales each preceded by a prologue introducing the next narrator. Until this notion is thoroughly uprooted, the poem must remain an inextricable mass of confusion. On the other hand as soon as we perceive that the author composed the work piece-meal with the intention of finally working all his pieces into one harmonious whole, this confusion disappears. Every one allows that this finishing process was never reached by the author, so that it remains for us to make the best of the several fragments as they have come down to us. We must look upon these fragments as so many portions of the story of the Canterbury pilgrimage into which the tales are introduced; the so-called prologues then become the main line of the action of the poem; and in each fragment we shall see that the story is taken up at one point and dropped at another without a clear reference to what has gone before or what is to follow. For instance, in this which I have called the second fragment, the beginning contains no allusion whatever to the previous tales, and, so far, it matters not what place it should hold in the collection. Before telling his tale, the Man of lawe says: 'Y

ran ryght now no *thrifty* tale seyn;' and as soon as it is finished the Host says: 'This was a *thrifty* tale for the nones.' He soon after calls out: 'O Jankin be ȝe there?' Jankin is the name of the squyere in the Somnour's tale: 'Now stood the lordes squyere at the borde That carf his mete,' &c., which reminds us of the description in the General Prologue of the S quyere who 'carf before his fader at the table.' The character of the pilgrim who now comes forward and offers to tell a tale accords well in many points with the Squyere, but if the word in line 17 after 'Seyde the' be omitted, there is nothing in the context which necessarily makes this portion of the story an introduction to any one known tale in particular. In one manuscript, where the pieces are so arranged that this second fragment finds itself immediately before Fragment X. (which begins with the *Shipman's* tale), the scribe has made the words run 'Seyde the *Shipman*'...and this has led Tyrwhitt and all more recent editors to sever these lines from the Man of lawe's tale, to which they inherently belong, and to prefix them to the Shipman's tale, the editors having always looked upon it as their first duty to provide a prologue for each tale at whatever cost. In a large number of manuscripts, however, the words are written 'Seyde the Squyere...' and there can be little doubt that, as originally written, it was Chaucer's intention to add at this point a tale to be told by the Squyere. Nevertheless it is clear that the Squyere's 'tale half-told' which we now have was not written as part of this fragment, because before the Man of lawe's tale the fourth part of the day was gone, while the Squyere at the beginning of his tale says 'Y wil not tarien ȝow for it is pryme,' and such discrepancies of time and place are never to be found in different parts of the same fragment.

* * * * *

1. Prologue, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Man of Lawes prolog.

OURE Hoste sey wel that the bryghte sonne
The ark of his artificial day had ronne

The ferthe part and half an houre and more
 And though he were not depe expert in lore
 He wist it was the eyght and twenty day
 Of April that is messagere to May
 And sey wel that the shadwe of every tree
 Was as in lengthe of the same quantitee
 That was the body erect that caused it
 And therfore by the shadwe he took his wit 10
 That Phebus which that shon so clere and bryghte
 Degrees was fyve and forty clombe on hyghte
 And for that day as in that latitude
 It was ten of the klok he gan conclude
 And sodeynly he plyghte his hors abowte
 Lordinges quod he y warne 3ow al this rowte
 The ferthe partye of this day is gon 17

lines 46—76:

Y can ryght now no thrifty tale seyn
 But Chaucer though he can but lewedly
 On metres and on ryming craftily
 Hath seyde hem in swich English as he can 50
 Of olde tyme as knoweth many a man
 And if he have not seyde hem leve brother
 In o book he hath seyde hem in another
 For he hath told of loveres up and down
 Mo than Ovyde made of mencion
 In his Epistolis that ben ful olde
 What shulde I tellen hem sin they be tolde
 In 3owthe he made of Ceys and Alcion
 And sithen hath he spoke of everich on
 Thes noble wyves and thes loveres eke
 Who so that wil his large volume seke 60
 Cleped the Seyntes Legende of Cupyde
 There may he see the large woundes wyde
 Of Lucesse and of Babiloun Thisbee
 The swerd of Dydo for the false Enee
 The tree of Phillis for hire Demophoun
 The playnt of Deyanyre and Hermioun

Of Adriane and of Ysiphilee
 The bareyne yle standinge in the see
 The dreynt Leandere for his fayre Hero
 The teres of Eleyne and eke the wo 70
 Of Briseyda and of Ladomia
 The creweltee of thee quene Medea
 Thy litel children hanginge by the hals
 For thy Jason that was of love so fals
 O Ypermestre Penelope Alceste
 3oure wyfhood he commendeth with the beste. 76

ending (line 98):

Began his tale and seyde as 3e shule here.

Here endeth the Man of Lawes prolog.

2. The Man of Lawe, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Man of Lawes tale.

O HATEFUL harm condicioun of poverte

lines 35, 36:

Me taughte a tale, which that 3e shule here.

IN Surrie whylom dwelte a compaynye

ending (line 1064):

And kepe us alle that ben in this place.

Here endeth the Man of Lawes tale.

3. Link, as follows:

Here beginneth the [] prolog.

OURE Hoste upon his stirop stood anon
 And seyde Goode men herkeneth everich on
 This was a thrifty tale for the nones
 Sire parish prest quod he for Goddes bones
 Telle us a tale as was thy forward 3ore
 Y see wel that 3e lerned men in lore
 Conne mochel good by Goddes dignitee
 The Person him answerde Benedicite

What eyleth the man so sinfully to swere
 Oure Hoste answerde O Jankin be 3e there 10
 Y smelle a lollere in the wynd quod he
 Now goode men quod oure Hoste herkeneth to me
 Abideth for Goddes digne passioun
 For we shule have a predicacioun
 This lollere here will prechen us somewhat.
 Nay by my fader soule that shall he not
 Seyde the [] that shall he not preche
 He shal no gospel here glose ne teche
 We leven alle in the grete God quod he
 He wolde sowen some difficultee 20
 Or springen cokkel in oure clene corn
 And therfor Hoste y warne thee befor
 My joly body shall a tale telle
 And y shall clinken 3ow so merie a belle
 That y shal waken al this compaynye
 But it shal not ben of philosophye
 Ne of phisyk ne termes queynte of lawe
 There is but litel latin in my mawe. 28

Here endeth the [] prolog.

* * * * *

FRAGMENT III.

* * * 1. The WIFE OF BATH's Prologue.—2. The WIFE's Tale of "What women most desire."—3. Link.—4. The FRERE's Tale of the Somnour and the Devil.—5. Link.—6. The SOMNOUR's Tale of the Frere and the bedridden man.— * * *

THE allusion to 'wo that is in mariage' is so constant in Chaucer's works that there is no tale to which this opening can be said pointedly to allude. The tales of the Clerk, the Merchant, the Franklin, or the Manciple would any of them do to precede—at the same time there is no necessary connexion with any one known tale. The Somnour's remark that he will telle tales two or three of freres or he come to Sidenborne, and his last words: 'My tale is don we ben almost at toun,' would lead me to believe that Chaucer intended this fragment to find its final place in a later portion of the poem, between Fragment X. in which allusion is made to *Rochester*, and Fragment IX. where *Boughton under Blee* is mentioned. In any case the fragment beginning with the Wife's Prologue and ending with the Somnour's tale must be kept unbroken in itself.

* * * * *

1. Prologue, beginning (line 1);

Here beginneth the Wyf of Bathes prolog.

EXPERIENCE though non autoritee
Were in this worlde is ryght inough for me
To speke of wo that is in mariage

lines 846, 847:

But if y telle tales two or three
Of freres or y come to Sidenborne

ending (line 856):

3is dame quod he telle forth and y shal here.

Here endeth the Wyf of Bathes prolog.

2. The Wyf of Bathe, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Wyf of Bathes tale.

IN olde dayes of the kinge Arthour

ending (line 408):

God sende hem soon verray pestilence.

Here endeth the Wyf of Bathes tale.

3. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Freres prolog.

THIS worthy limitour this noble Frere

ending (line 36):

Telle forth 3oure tale my leve maister dere.

Here endeth the Freres prolog.

4. The Frere, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Freres tale.

WHYLOM there was dwellinge in my contree

ending (line 364):

Of his misdede er that the feend him hente.

Here endeth the Freres tale.

5. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Somnoures prolog.

THIS Somnour in his stirop up he stood

ending (line 44):

My prolog wil y ende in this manere.

Here endeth the Somnoures prolog

6. The Somnour, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Somnoures tale.

LORDINGES there is in Engeland y gesse

lines 535, 536:

Now stood the lordes squyere at the borde
That carf his mete and herde word by worde

ending (lines 585, 586):

And Jankin hath iwonne a newe gowne
My tale is don we ben almost at tōwne.

Here endeth the Somnoures tale.

* * * * *

FRAGMENT IV.

* * * 1. Prologue.—2. The CLERK OF OXFORD'S Tale of Grisilde.—
3. Link. * * *

THERE are three things to be noticed in examining manuscripts which contain this fragment. 1. At the end of the tale just before the Song 'Grisilde is ded &c.' one set of copies ends with Stanza CLIX.: 'It wolde rathere breste atwo than plye,' and another set adds Stanza CLX., beginning: 'For which here for the wyves love of Bathe.' 2. In the song itself, the one set of copies has the last three stanzas in this order: IV. If thou be fayr... V. Ne drede him not... VI. 3e archewyves...; the other set has these stanzas arranged as I have printed them, so that the last words of the song are: 'And let him care and wepe and wringe and wayle.' 3. In one set of copies the single link-stanza is subjoined to the song: 'This worthy clerk whan ended was his tale;' in the other set it is omitted. It is curious that this last stanza is not found (so far as I have examined) except in those copies where the Clerk's and Merchant's tales are connected; in other words, except precisely where it is not required. About the song I will only remark that by the present arrangement the first four stanzas are in the plural and the last two in the singular, whereas the other order produces confusion in this point.

* * * * *

1. Prologue, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Clerkes prolog.

SIRE Clerk of Oxenforde oure hoste seyde

ending (line 56):

But this is the tale which that ȝe shule here.

Here endeth the Clerkes prolog.

2. The Clerk of Oxenforde, beginning (line 1);

Here beginneth the Clerkes tale.

THERE is ryght at the west syde of Itayle

line 141:

Pars secunda.

NOT fer from thilke paleys honourable

line 393:

Pars tercia.

THER fel as it befalleth tymes mo

line 554:

Pars quarta.

IN this estat ther passed ben four ȝere

line 729:

Pars quinta.

AMONG al this after his wikke usage

line 883:

Pars sexta.

FROM Boloyn is this erl of Panik come

ending (lines 1106—1156):

Let us than live in vertuous suffraunce.

1106

CLIX.

But on word lordinges herkeneth er y go

It were ful hard to fynde now on dayes

In al a town Grisildes three or two

For if that they were putte to swiche assayes

The gold of hem hath now so badde alayes

With bras that though the coyn be fayr at ye

It wolde rathere breste atwo than plye

1113

CLX.

For which here for the wyves love of Bathe
Whos lyf and al hire secte God mayntene
In hy maystrye and elles were it skathe
Y wil with lusty herte fresshe and grene
Sey 3ow a song to glade 3ow y wene
And let us stinte of earnestful matere
Herkeneth my song that seyth in this manere. 1120

SONG.

I.

GRISILDE is ded and eke hire pacience
And bothe at ones iburied in Itayle
For which y crye in opene audience
No wedded man so hardy be to assayle
His wyves pacience in troste to fynde
Grisildis for in certeyn he shal fayle. 1126

II.

O noble wyves ful of hy prudence
Let non humilitee 3oure tonge nayle
Ne let no clerk han cause or diligence
To wryte of 3ow a storie of swich mervayle
As of Grisildis pacient and kynde
Lest Chichevache 3ow swolwe in hire entrayle. 1132

III.

Folweth Ekko that holdeth no silence
But evere answereth at the countretayle
Beth not bedaffed for 3oure innocence
But sharply taketh on 3ow the governayle
Emprinteth wel this lessoun in 3oure mynde
For comune profit sith it may avayle. 1138

IV. (VI.)

3e archewyves stondeth at 3oure defence
 Sin 3e ben stronge as is a gret camayle
 Ne suffereth not that men 3ow do offence
 And sklendre wyves feble as in batayle
 Beth egre as is a tygre 3ond in Ynde
 Ay clappeth as a mille y 3ow counsayle. 1144

V.

Ne drede him not do him no reverence
 For though thyn husbond armed be in mayle
 The arwes of thy crabbed eloquence
 Shule perce his brest and eke his aventayle
 In jelousye y rede ek thou him bynde
 And thou shalt make him couche as doth a quayle. 1150

VI. (IV.)

If thou be fayr there folk ben in presence
 Shewe thou thy visage and thyn apparayle
 If thou be foul be free of thy dispence
 To gete thee frendes ay do thy travayle
 Be ay of chere as lyght as leef on lynde
 And let him care and wepe and wringe and wayle. 1156
Here endeth the Clerkes tale.

3. Link, as follows:

Here beginneth the [] prolog.

THIS worthy clerk whan ended was his tale
 Oure Hoste seyde and swor by Goddes bones
 Me were levere than a barel ale
 My wyf at hom had herd this legende ones
 This is a gentil tale for the nones
 As to my purpos woste 3e my wille
 But thing that wil not be let it be stille.

FRAGMENT V.

1. Link.—2. The MERCHAUNT'S Tale of January and May.—3. Link.

THIS Fragment is found in several conditions in the various manuscripts. The tale is either found without any link at beginning or end, or with or without the link at the end, or with or without the link at the beginning.

As far as the tale itself bears evidence of its intended position lines 439—441 shew that it was meant to be subsequent to Fragment III. which contains the Wife of Bath's tale. In the next stage the link at the end was written, unmistakeably with the view of introducing Fragment VI. Where, however, the Squyeres tale had already found a place following Fragment II., this connexion was lost sight of, and by altering the name in line 23 of the link, and omitting the words 'of love' in line 24, it was readily used to introduce Fragment VII. instead. This is the case in a large number of copies. In a further stage of the composition Chaucer added a link at the beginning which served to join this Fragment immediately to Fragment IV. In copies where this introductory link is found, the link at the end will generally be found unaltered; where it is not inserted, this Fragment is usually found after the next one, the concluding link being there altered to suit the occasion.

1. Prologue, as follows:

Here beginneth the Merchauntes prolog.

WEPING and wayling care and other sorwe
 Y knowe inough on even and on morwe
 Quod the merchaunt and so don othere mo
 That wedded ben y trowe that it be so

For wel y wot it fareth so with me :
 Y have a wyf the worste that may be
 For though the feend to hire icoupled were
 She wolde him overmacche y dar wel swere 8
 What shulde y 3ow reherse in special
 Hire hy malyce she is a shrewe at al
 There is a longe and large difference
 Betwixe Grisildis grete pacience
 And of my wyf the passinge crueltee
 Were y unbounden al so mote y thee
 Y wolde nevere eft comen in the snare.
 We wedded men liven in sorwe and care 16
 Assaye it who so wil and he shal fynde
 That y seye sooth by seynt Thomas of Ynde
 As for the more part y seye not alle
 God shilde that it shulde so befall
 A good sire Hoste y have iwedded be
 Thes monethes two and more not pardee
 And 3it y trowe that he that al his lyve
 Wyfles hath ben though that men wolde him ryve 24
 Unto the herte ne couthe in no manere
 Telle so moche sorwe as y now here
 Couthe tellen of my wyves cursednesse.

Now quod oure Hoste Merchaunt so God 3ow blesse
 Sin 3e so moche knowen of that art
 Ful hertely telleth us a part.
 Gladly quod he but of myn owene sore
 For sory herte y telle may no more. 32

Here endeth the Merchauntes prolog.

2. The Merchaunt, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Merchauntes tale.

WHYLOM there was dwellinge in Lombardye
 lines 439—441 :

The wyf of Bathe if 3e han understonde
 Of mariage which 3e now han in honde
 Declared hath ful wel in litel space.

ending (line 1174):

God blesse us and his moder seynte Marie.

Here endeth the Merchauntes tale.

3. Link, as follows:

Here beginneth the [] prolog.

Ey Goddes mercy seyde oure Hoste tho
 Now swich a wyf y preye God kepe me fro
 Lo swiche sleightes and subtilitees
 In women ben for ay as besy as bees
 Ben they us sely men for to deceyve
 And from a sooth evere wole they weyve
 By this merchauntes tale it proveth wel
 But douteles as trewe as eny stel 8
 Y have a wyf though that she poore be
 But of hire tonge a labbinge shrewe is she
 And ȝit she hath an heep of vyces mo
 Therof no fors let alle swiche thing go
 But wite ȝe what, in counseyl be it seyde
 Me reweth sore y am unto hire teyd
 For and y shulde rekene every vyce
 Which that she hath iwis y were too nyce 16
 And cause why it shulde reported be
 And told to hire of som of this meynnee
 Of whom it nedeth not for to declare
 Sin women connen oute swich chaffare
 And ek my wit suffyseth not therto
 To tellen al therfore my tale is do.
 [] come forth if that ȝoure wille be
 And seye a tale [] for certes ȝe 24
 Conne theron as moche as eny man
 Nay sire quod he but swich thing as y can
 With herty wille for y wil not rebelle
 Aȝeyn ȝoure lust a tale wil y telle
 Have me excused if that y speke amis
 My wille is good and lo my tale is this. 30

Here endeth the [] prolog.

FRAGMENT VI.

- * * * 1. The SQUYERES Tale of the Horse of brass (unfinished) * * *.—
2. Link.

THIS Fragment occurs in two states. The tale (of which no known MSS. give more than the first couplet of Part 3) is found either with or without the link at the end. The link must have been added at a later stage of the composition, as it is wanting in many copies, and where it does occur, it is found in two states. It was evidently written to connect Fragments VI. and VII. together; and in this state it has the word 'Frankeleyn' in lines 24 and 27. In the other state, the name is altered in line 24, and line 27 is made to end 'Quod the Merchaunt certeyn,' and Fragment V. is made to follow immediately. This link has been unfortunately omitted altogether by the latest editor. In the MS. which he follows (Harl. 7334) there is a gap of a whole quire, extending from some way before the end of the Squyeres Tale to far into that of the Frankeleyn, but it is perfectly clear both from a calculation of matter required to fill the missing leaves and also from observation of the family of text which the MS. represents, that the link must have been in the MS. before it was defective. It might easily have been supplied from another good MS. of the same family. MS. Lansdowne 851, from which the rest of the gap has been supplied, does not belong to the same family.

* * * * *

1. The Squyere, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Squyeres tale.

AT Sarraz in the londe of Tartarye

lines 64, 65:

There nis no man that may reporten al
Y wil not tarien 3ow for it is pryme.

lines 338, 339:

Til that wel nygh the day began to springe.

Pars secunda.

THE norice of digestioun the sleep

lines 662—664:

And there y lafte y wil a3eyn beginne.

Pars tercia.

APOLLO whirleth up his char so hye
Til that the god Mercurius hous the slye

* * * * *

Here endeth the Squyeres tale.

2. Link, as follows:

Here beginneth the [] prolog.

IN feyth Squyere thou hast thee wel iquit
And gentilly y preyse wel thy wit
Quod the [] consideringe thy 3owthe
So felingly thou spekest sire y alowe thee
As to my doom there is non that is here
Of eloquence that shal be thy pere
If that thou live. God 3ive the good chaunce
And in vertu sende thee continuaunce 8
For of thy speking y have gret deyntee
Y have a sone and by the Trinitee
It were me levere than twenty pound worth londe
Though it ryght now were fallen in my honde
He were a man of swich discrecioun
As that 3e be. fy on possessioun
But if a man be vertuous withal
Y have my sone snibbed and 3it shal 16
For he to vertu lesteth not to entende
But for to playe at dys and to dispende

And lose al that he hath is his usage
 And he had levere talke with a page
 Than to commune with eny gentil wyght
 There he myghte lere gentillesse aryght.

Straw for 3oure gentillesse quod oure Hoste
 What [] pardee sire wel thou wost 24

That eche of 3ow mot tellen at the leste

A tale or two or breken his beheste.

That knowe y wel quod the []

Y preye 3ow have me not in disdeyn

Though y to this man speke a word or two.

Telle on thy tale with outen wordes mo.

Gladly sire Hoste quod he y wil obeye

Unto 3oure wille now herkeneth what y seye 32

Y wil 3ow not contrarie in no wyse

As fer as that my wittes may suffyse

Y preye to God that it may plesen 3ow

That wot y wel that it is good inow. 36

Here endeth the [] prolog.

FRAGMENT VII.

* * * 1. The FRANKELEYN's Tale of Dorigen. * * *

THIS Fragment consists of nothing but the Frankeleyn's tale, and is often found quite apart from either Fragments VI. or V. Consequently lines 1—56 are in many MSS. marked off (by the introduction to the tale), and treated as the Frankeleynes Prologue. The same thing happens with lines 1—34 of the Knyght, Stanzas 1—5 of the Man of Lawe, Stanzas 1—5 of the Prioress, and Stanzas 1—12 of the Second Nonnes tale.

* * * * *

1. The Frankeleyn, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Frankeleynes tale.

THES olde gentil Britouns in here dayes

lines 56—58:

But if 3ow leste my tale shule 3e here.

IN Armoryke that called is Breteyne

Ther was a knyght that lovede and dide his peyne

ending (line 908):

Y can no more my tale is at an ende.

Here endeth the Frankeleynes tale.

* * * * *

FRAGMENT VIII.

- * * * 1. The NONNES Tale of the life of Seynte Cecilie.—2. The CHANOUN'S
 3EMAN, with his Tale of the London Annuelere. * * *

THIS Fragment in one set of MSS. is found where it stands here, and in another set between Fragments X. and XI. It was evidently as an afterthought that these pieces were put together and made to form part of the Canterbury Tales. There can be little doubt that the Nonne's Tale is the 'Lyf of seynte Cecilie' mentioned in the Prologue to the Legende, an earlier poem of Chaucer's, which he has here introduced and given to one of his characters without even taking the trouble to alter the words of the proem in which the poet speaks in his own character. In the episode of the Chanon's 3eman I have numbered the lines throughout, because there is no clear distinction between the introductory matter and the tale. Indeed the tale is of a different nature from the general run of the Canterbury Tales, which are for the most part simply borrowed stories translated and versified. There is some resemblance to this mode of treatment in Fragment III. with the Wyf's long prologue, and the interruptions of the Frere and Somnour after the tales have begun; and again in Fragment IX., where the actual tale told of the three rioters forms but a small portion of the episode of the Pardonere. Where this Fragment is found placed between Fragments X. and XI. I have very little doubt that this transposition is the result of that editorial care which has rearranged the Monk's tale, &c. from a feeling that the mention of Boughton under Blee must of necessity throw this Fragment to a much later place in the Collection. But it has been before shewn how

impossible it is so to arrange the several Fragments that the order of time shall be preserved throughout.

* * * * *

1. The Seconde Nonne, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Second Nonnes [].

THE ministre and the norice unto vyces
line 62:

And though that y unworthy sone of Eve
lines 84, 85:

And preye 3ow that 3e wole my werke amende.

FIRST wil y 3ow the name of seynte Cecilie
ending (line 553):

Men don to Cryst and to his seyntes servyse.

Here endeth the Seconde Nonnes Tale.

2. The Chanounes 3eman, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Chanounes 3emannes prolog.

WHAN ended was the lyf of seynte Cecyle
Er we had ridden fully fyve myle
At Boughton under Blee us gan atake
A man that clothed was in clothes blake
And underneth he werede a whyt surplis
His hakeney which that was al pomelee gris
So swatte that it wonder was to see
It semede as he had prikked myles three

lines 29—36:

And whan that he was come he gan to crye
God save quod he this joly compaynye
Faste have y prikked quod he for 3oure sake
Because that y wolde 3ow atake
To ryden in this merie compaynye.
His 3eman was ek ful of curteysye
And seyde Sires now in the morwe tyde
Oute of 3oure hostelrye y sey 3ow ryde

lines 70, 71:

That al the ground on which we ben rydinge
Til that we come to Canterburie toun

lines 166, 167:

Swich thing as that y knowe y wil declare.
WITH this Chanoun y dwelt have sevene ȝere

lines 458, 459:

But in this cas herkeneth what y seye.
IN London was a prest an annuelere

ending (line 928):

God sende every trewe man boote of his bale.

*Here endeth the tale of the Chanounes ȝeman*¹.

* * * * *

¹ In the manuscripts of Class I. followed in the old printed editions, the following link is here inserted to introduce the Doctour of phisyk, but there can be very little doubt that it is spurious. Occasionally only the

last three couplets are found, from which circumstance Tyrwhitt has given them in his text. They are given in the hope that some result may be obtained from collation:

Here beginneth the Doctours prolog.

WHAN this ȝeman his tale ended hadde
Of this fals chanoun which was so badde
Oure hoste gan seye trewely and certeyn
This prest was begyled soth for to seyn
He weninge for to be a philosopher
Til he ryght no gold lefte in his cofer
And sothly this prest hadde a lither jape
This cursed chanoun putte in his hood an ape
But al this passe y over as now.

Sire doctour of phisyk ȝit y preye ȝow

10

Telle us a tale of som honest matere.

It shal be don if that ȝe wole it here

Seyde this doctour and his tale began anon

Now goode men quod he herkeneth everich on.

14

Here endeth the Doctours prolog.

FRAGMENT IX.

- * * * 1. The DOCTOUR OF PHISYK's Tale of Appius and Virginia.—
 2. The PARDONERE, with his Tale of Death and the three rioters. * * *

THERE is nothing whatever in this Fragment from which we can gain any clue to its intended position in the work.

I have numbered the lines in the Episode of the Pardonere throughout, because the manuscripts vary in the point at which the prologue ends, and at the end the Pardonere goes off into talk which forms no part of the Tale. The Tale might be considered to end with line 608 before the line

O cursed sinne ful of cursednesse,

but I am not aware of any authority in the manuscripts for making a division at this point.

* * * * *

1. The Doctour of Phisyk, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Doctours tale.

THERE was as telleth Titus Livius
 ending (line 286):

Forsaketh sinne er sinne 3ow forsake.

Here endeth the Doctours tale.

2. The Pardonere, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Pardoneres prolog.

OURE Hoste gan swere as he were wood
 lines 42, 43:

Upon some honest thing whyl that y drinke.

LORDINGES quod he in chirche whan y preche

lines 176, 177:

Now holde ȝoure pes my tale y wil beginne.

IN Flandres whylom was a compaynye

ending (line 682):

Anon they kisse and ryden forth here weye.

*Here endeth the Pardoner's tale*¹.

* * * * *

¹ In some of the MSS. and in the old printed editions, the following six couplets are added as a link to introduce Fragment X, but they are unquestionably spurious:

Now frendes seyde oure hoste so dere
How lyketh ȝow by Johan the pardonere
He hath unbokeled weel the male
He hath us told ryght a thrifty tale
As touching of his misgovernaunce
Y preye to God ȝive him good chaunce
As ȝe han herd of thes ryotours three
Now gentil marinere hertely y preye thee
Telle us a good tale and that ryght anon
It shal be don by God and by seynt Johan
Seyde this Marinere as weel as evere y can
And ryght anon his tale he thus began.

FRAGMENT X.

* * * 1. The SHIPMAN'S Tale of the Merchaunt of Seynt Denys.—
 2. Link.—3. The PRIORESSES Tale of Alma Redemptoris.—4. Link.—5. CHAUCER'S
 Tale of SIR THOPACE.—6. Link.—7. CHAUCER'S Tale of MELIBEE.—8. Link.—
 9. The MONK'S Tale of the fall of princes.—10. Link.—11. The NONNES PRIEST'S
 Tale of Chaunteclere and Pertelote.—12. Link. * * *

THERE are two points in this Fragment, in which the variations occur.

After the tale of the Nonnes Prest is a link which introduces nothing, and in many manuscripts it is accordingly suppressed, as in the case of the link at the end of Fragment II. In some copies where Fragment VIII. is made to follow, the blank in the last line is clumsily filled up by the words 'the Nonne,' and the following three couplets are added:

Madame and y durste y wolde 3ow preye
 To telle a tale in furthering of oure weye
 Than myghte 3e do unto us gret ese
 Gladly sire quod she so that y myghte plesse
 3ow and this worthy compaynye
 And began here tale ryght thus ful soberly.

The rhymes of the last couplet would be alone sufficient to condemn it as spurious, if such evidence were needed.

In the Monk's tale the modern instances of Peter of Spain, Peter of Cyprus, Bernabo Visconti, and Ugolino are found either between Zenobia and Nero, or at the end after Cresus. As the variation cannot have been caused by any accidental transposition, the circumstance of finding them at the end in one set of MSS. would seem to shew that it was the result of the same editorial care which cancelled the needless links, on which subject so much has been said already; while if we consider that the instance of Cresus as originally written stood

at the end, then the allusion to the concluding stanza in the words of the Hoste immediately following are perfectly natural and easy to understand.

The present Fragment is far the best specimen of the extent of variety which Chaucer gives to the composition and construction of his great work. Starting with the 'riding rhyme' of the Shipman's *tale* of the Merchaunt of St Denys, it changes first to the 7-line stanzas of the Prioresses *Legend* of the boy martyr, thence to the vulgar *Romance* stanzas of Sire Thopace, thence to the serious prose '*morality*' of Melibee, thence to the heavier 8-line stanzas of the Monk's '*tragedies*,' and finally returns to the riding rhyme in the Nun's Priest's *fable* of Chaunteclere and Pertelote.

* * * * *

1. The Shipman, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Shipmannes tale.

A MERCHAUNT whylom dwelte at seynt Denys
ending (line 434):

Taling inough unto oure lyves ende.

Here endeth the Shipmannes tale.

2. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Prioresses prolog.

WEL seyð by corpus bones quod oure Hoste
ending (line 18):

Gladly quod she and seyde in this manere.

Here endeth the Prioresses prolog.

3. The Prioresse, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Prioresses tale.

O LORD oure lord thy name how mervaylous
lines 35, 36:

Gydeth my song that y shal of 3ou seye.

THERE was in Asie in a gret citee

ending (line 245):

For reverence of his moder Marye.

Here endeth the Prioresses tale.

4. Link, beginning (line 1):

*Here beginneth the prolog of Chauceres Rym of Sire
Thopace.*

WHAN seyð was al this miracle every man
ending (line 21):

Some deynte thing me thinketh by his chere.

*Here endeth the prolog of Chauceres Rym of Sire
Thopace.*

5. Sire Thopace, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth Chauceres Rym of Sire Thopace.

LISTETH lordinges in good entent
ending (line 209):

Til on a day—

Here endeth Chauceres Rym of Sire Thopace.

6. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the prolog of Chauceres tale of Melibee.

No more of this for Goddes dignitee
ending (line 48):

And let me tellen al my tale y preye.

Here endeth the prolog of Chauceres tale of Melibee.

7. Melibee, beginning:

Here beginneth Chauceres tale of Melibee.

A 3ONG man called Melibeus mighty and riche begat upon
his wyf...

ending:

...oure giltes and bringe us to the blisse that nevere hath
ende. Amen.

Here endeth Chauceres tale of Melibee.

8. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Monkes prolog.

WHAN ended was my tale of Melibee
line 38:

Lo Rochester stondeth here faste by
ending (line 102):

Have me excused of myne ignoraunce.

Here endeth the Monkes prolog.

9. The Monk, beginning (line 1)

Here beginneth the Monkes tale.

Y WIL bewayle in manere of tragedie
line 9:

LUCIFER.

AT Lucifer though he an angel were
line 17:

ADAM.

Lo Adam in the felde of Damascene
line 25:

SAMPSOUN.

Lo Sampson which that was annunciat
line 105:

HERCULES.

OF Hercules the sovereyn conquerour
line 153:

NABUCHODONOSOR.

THE myghty tron the precious tresor
line 193:

BALTHASAR.

HIS sone which that hyghte Balthasar
line 257:

ZENOBIA.

ZENOBIA of Palmire the quene

line 385 :

PETRO OF SPAYNE.

O NOBLE o worthy Petro glorie of Spayne

line 401 :

PETRO KING OF CYPRE.

O WORTHY Petro king of Cypre also

line 409 :

BERNABO VISCOUNTE.

OF Milayn grete Bernabo Viscounte

line 417 :

HUGELIN OF PYSE.

OF the erl Hugelin of Pyse the langour

lines 472, 473 :

From poynt to poynt not o word wil he fayle.

NERO.

AL though that Nero were as vicious

line 561 :

HOLOFERNES.

WAS nevere capitayne under a king

line 585 :

ANTIOCHUS.

WHAT nedeth it of king Antiochus

line 641 :

ALEXANDER.

THE storie of Alexandre is so comune

line 681 :

JULIUS CESAR.

BY wisdom manhood and by gret labour

line 737 :

CRESUS.

THE riche Cresus whylom king of Lyde

ending line 776:

And covere hire bryghte face with a cloude.

Here endeth the Monkes tale.

10. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Nonnes Prestes prolog.

Ho quod the knyght good sire no more of this
ending (line 54):

This swete prest this goodly man sire Johan.

Here endeth the Nonnes Prestes prolog.

11. The Nonnes Prest, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Nonnes Prestes tale.

A POORE widwe somdel stope in age
ending (line 626):

And bringe us alle unto his blisse. Amen.

Here endeth the Nonnes Prestes tale.

12. Link, as follows:

Here beginneth the wordes of the Hoste.

SIRE Nonnes Prest oure Hoste seyde anon

Iblessed be thy brech and every ston

This was a merie tale of Chaunteclere

But by my trewthe if thou were seculere

Thou woldest ben a tredefowl aryght

For if thou have corage as thou hast myght

Thee were nede of hennes as y wene

3e mo than sevene tymes seventene

8

See whiche brawnes hath this gentil prest

So gret a nekke and swich a large brest

He looketh as a sparhawk with his yen

Him nedeth not his colour for to dyen

With Brasil ne with greyn of Portingale

But sire fayre falle 3ow for 3oure tale.

And after that he with ful merie chere

Seyde to [] as 3e shule here.

16

* * * * *

FRAGMENT XI.

* * * 1. Prologue.—2. The MAUNCIPLES Tale of Phebus and the Crow. * * *

THIS Fragment is devoid of any allusion by which it can be connected with any other, and is accordingly found variously placed in different copies, though in most MSS. the argument from the locality, the 'litel toun which that icleped is Bob-up-and-down under the Blee in Canterburie weye,' has been sufficient to force it into a very late place in the collection.

* * * * *

1. Prologue beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Maunciples prolog.

WRITE 3e not where there stant a litel toun
Which that icleped is Bob up and down
Under the Blee in Canterburie weye
There gan oure Hoste to jape and to pleye

lines 15—19:

Awake thou cook quod he God 3ive thee sorwe
What eyleth thee to slepe by the morwe
Hast thou had fleen al nyght or art thou dronke
Or hast thou with som quene al nyght iswonke
So that thou myght not holden up thyn hed

ending (line 104):

Wel sire quod he now herkeneth what y seye.

Here endeth the Maunciples prolog.

2. The Maunciple, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Maunciples tale.

WHAN Phebus dwelte here in this erthe adoun
ending (line 258):

Kepe wel thy tonge and thinke upon the crowe.

Here endeth the Maunciples tale.

* * * * *

FRAGMENT XII.

- * * * 1. Link.—2. The PERSON'S Tale of very penance, with the conclusion of the whole work.

THERE is no doubt of the position of the present Fragment at the end of the whole work; but there is nothing in the prologue which alludes to any tale in particular, and though Fragment XI. precedes in most copies, yet variations are found in some of the MSS. In the edition of 1542 the so-called Ploughman's tale was first printed among the Canterbury Tales—for though printed a few years before in the same size and by the same printer as the previous edition of 1532, it seems to have been purposely excluded. Even in 1542 however it merely formed an Appendix to the tales, and followed Fragment XII. But in the next edition (without date but about 1550) and in all the subsequent editions before Tyrwhitt's time (1561, 1598, 1602, 1687, 1721) it appears foisted in between Fragments XI. and XII. and the first line of Fragment XII. has the blank filled in with the word Ploughman.

* * * * *

1. Link, beginning (line 1):

Here beginneth the Persones prolog.

By that the [] had his tale iended
 The sonne fro the south lyne was descended
 So lowe that it was not to my syghte
 Degrees nyne and twenty as of hyghte
 Four of the klok it was tho as y gesse
 For eleven foot a litel more or lesse

My shadwe was at thilke tyme as there
 Of swiche feet as my lengthe parted were
 In six feet equal of proporcioun.
 Therwith the moones exaltacioun
 In mene Libra alwey gan ascende
 As we were entringe at the thorpes ende
 For which oure Hoste as he was wont to gye
 As in this cas oure joly compaynye
 Seyde in this wyse Lordinges everich on
 Now lakketh us no tales mo than on
 Fulfild is my sentence and my decree
 Y trowe that we han herd of ech degree.
 Almost fulfilled is myn ordinaunce

lines 46, 47:

Y wil ȝow telle a litel tale in prose
 To knitte up al this feste and make an ende

ending (lines 71—74):

Telleth quod he your meditacioun
 But hasteth ȝow the sonne wil adoun
 Beth fructuous and that in litel space
 And to do wel God sende ȝow his grace.

Here endeth the Persones prolog.

2. The Person, beginning:

Here beginneth the Persones tale.

JERE vj°. STATE super vias et videte et interrogate de
 semitis antiquis que sit via bona et ambulate in ea et inveni-
 etis refrigerium animabus vestris.

OURS swete lord God of hevene that no man wil perishe
 but wil that we comen alle...

ending:

...and the lyf by deth and mortificacioun of sinne to which
 lyf he us bringe that boughte us with his precious blood.
 Amen.

Here endeth the Persones tale.

Here taketh the makere of this book his leve.

Now preye y to hem alle that herken this litel tretis or rede it that if ther be any thing in it that lyketh hem that therof they thanke oure lord Jhesu Cryst of whom procedeth al wit and al goodnesse and if ther be any thing that displeseth hem y preye hem also that they arette it to the defaut of myn unconninge and not to my wille that wolde fayn have seyde better if y hadde had conninge for oure book seyth Al that is write is write for oure doctryne and that is myn entente. Wherefore y beseke 3ow mekely for the mercy of God that 3e preye for me that Cryst have mercy of me and for3ive me myne giltes and namely of myne translaciouns and endytinges of worldly vanitees the which y revoke in my retracciouns as the book of Troilus the book also of Fame the book of the fyve and twenty ladies the book of the Duchesse the book of Seynt Valentynes day of the Parlement of briddes the Tales of Canterburie thilke that sounen unto sinne the book of the Leoun and many another book if they were in my remembrance and many a song and many a lecherous lay Cryst of his grete mercy for3ive me the sinne. But of the translacioun of Boece of Consolacioun and othere bookes of legendes of seyntes and of omelies and moralitee and devocioun that thanke y oure lord Jhesu Cryst and his blisful moder and alle the seyntes in hevене besekingē hem that they fro hensforth unto my lyves ende sende me grace to bewayle myne giltes and to stodie to the savacioun of my soule and graunte me grace of veray penaunce confessioun and satisfaccioun to don in this present lyf through the benygne grace of him that is king of kinges and prest of alle prestes that boughte us with the precious blode of his herte so that y mot ben on of hem at the laste day of doom that shule be saved *qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

VIII. THE PRINTER OF THE HISTORIA S. ALBANI¹.

EVERY one who has spent any time in the study of early printed books must have met with a number of small quarto volumes bearing a great resemblance to each other, and all attributed to various early presses at Cologne. In the Stadt-Bibliothek at Cologne, in the Royal Library at the Hague, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, not to mention other places, there are large collections of these volumes, by means of which there are opportunities of comparison, without which it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory results. The bibliographers have divided these books roughly into two sets, and have attributed the one set to Ulric Zel, and the other to Arnold ter Hoernen, or Veldener, or the Brussels press. A good deal more research is needed before the class of books formerly attributed to ter Hoernen, Veldener, and the Brussels press can be accurately assigned to their respective printers, though Mr Holtrop has cleared away many of the difficulties; but almost all who have described the class of books commonly given to Ulric Zel, have followed each other with very little hesitation. Hain sometimes adds, '*Typi Zellianis similes*,' but this is the extent of the hesitation.

There are many variations in the mode of printing adopted in these books which may help to settle the dates with greater certainty; but I wish now to draw attention to thirteen volumes which have been almost uniformly attributed to Zel, which yet I cannot believe to be the productions of his press. They are palpably all from the same press; the type is almost

¹ Published as Memorandum No. 1, February, 1868.

identical with Zel's; but the typographical characteristics, the mode of working, &c., are so different from his, that they must for the future be kept separate. If they are examined with this view, I have no doubt that the number will be largely increased, and it is quite possible that some clue may be found to the name of the printer.

Until the eye becomes accustomed to the differences between Zel's type and that of the Printer of the *Historia sancti Albani*¹, as I shall call him for the present, there are certain points which can be recognised with ease. One is the frequent use of the semicolon (;) at the end of a sentence, while it is never used at all by Zel. Another is the use of the small double hyphen, whereas Zel's hyphens are very peculiar. They are not found at all, I believe, except in what are supposed to be his earliest books; and then they are single strokes and always stand out beyond the end of the line. Again, of Zel's books there are very few in which the lines are not fully spaced out to the end; while the Printer of the *Historia sancti Albani*, in several of the books described below, exhibits many instances of the peculiarity of even spacing on the recto, and uneven on the verso, of a leaf. This is a matter which was first noticed, I think, by Mr Blades in connexion with Caxton's early books, and he has shown most ably how much aid may be obtained in settling the dates of books by noticing the habits of the printers and their gradual improvements in working. Indeed, where we have no date on the face of the book, the unconscious evidence afforded by the methods of working is of course of the greatest value.

In the collations, as there are no printed signatures, I have examined the books by the quires of which they are composed, and have called the quires a, b, c, &c., as if they

¹ I have selected this book for the purpose partly because it is the commonest (copies being, 1. at the Hague, 2. in the British Museum, 3. in the Bodleian, 4. in a volume belonging to Mr Boone, and 5. one formerly in the

Borluut collection, bound separately), and partly because it is almost the only one which has no risk of being confused with other editions differing in type, but resembling each other page for page.

had been so marked by the printer¹. Where, as sometimes happens, a single leaf is inserted in a quire owing to some miscalculation on the part of the printer, the leaf will be found described by the number of the preceding leaf, only with the addition of an asterisk (6* if inserted *after* 6, 5* if inserted *after* 5, &c.), and the first word of the inserted leaf is given, so as to enable the collator to identify it at once. Thus in the Seneca (No. II. below), the expression c(+ 6* 'zenocrates')⁶ means that the quire c consists of *six* leaves, *besides* (+) a leaf inserted *after* the 6th leaf (hence called 6*), which inserted leaf commences with the word 'zenocrates.' The great advantage of this systematic method of collation over the plan of merely counting the leaves is that every leaf is accurately accounted for, deficiencies are noticed at once (even if only a blank leaf), and it is made clear what pieces are *printed* together, and what are only *bound* together. Hitherto every treatise which happens to begin on the recto of a leaf has been assumed to be the commencement of a volume, and scores of books have been ruthlessly cut up in consequence of this erroneous impression. In Zel's famous volume, for instance, containing St Augustine's *De vita christiana* and *De singularitate clericorum*, printed in 1467, where the first treatise ends and the second begins in the middle of the third quire, all the bibliographers for the last seventy years have, I believe, without exception described them as two separate books; in some cases even different dates (three or more years apart) have been assigned to what must have been worked by one pull of the press. But this is beyond my present purpose. I shall be most thankful if any one who has access to collections of this kind, will examine and report upon any books that he finds printed by the Printer of the *Historia sancti Albani*. Hain's 12257 (*Ovidii Liber trium puellarum*) described by Dibdin (BS. No. 327) and

¹ Signatures have existed as long as books have required binding; they are easily traceable for more than 1200 years back. The early Strasbourg (and some Italian) books afford examples of

the clumsy devices resorted to for *printing* them before the simple method was devised of appropriating a line at the bottom of the page for their reception.

there bound with No. XII below, I have not seen, but it is almost certainly one which may be added to the number; but there are most likely many more.

To explain the abbreviations used in the notes:

SBK means *Stadt-Bibliothek zu Köln*, the Town-Library at Cologne, the contents of which are described, so far as our purpose is concerned, in the *Katalog* printed by the learned Archivist and Librarian, Dr Ennen, in 1865.

BRH means *Bibliotheca Regia Hagana*, the Royal Library at the Hague, the fifteenth century books in which have been described in the *Catalogus* published in 1856 by the Librarian, Mr J. W. Holtrop, to whom all students in this branch of bibliography owe a debt which they can best repay by following in his steps. What was before the publication of his catalogue a shapeless unknown and unexplored mass, has become under his hands a system in which every book readily finds its place, and in which the very errors themselves afford the clue to their own rectification.

BS means the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* described by Dr Dibdin, 1814—23. It is not to be expected that we should find thoroughly accurate descriptions of these books in an English work published fifty years ago; but the great value of the book lies in the fact that it is the catalogue of an existing library, which the liberality of its owner will allow to be examined.

I may add that the descriptions here given, so far as they relate to books preserved at Oxford, are only portions of a similar catalogue, which I made in 1866, of about 100 quarto books, all printed (apparently) at Cologne, before the introduction of printed signatures, and all preserved in the Auctarium of the Bodleian Library. In the summer of that year I was able, through the kindness of Mr Coxe the Librarian, to examine every early printed volume in the Auctarium with the view of finding books printed in England, Holland, or Belgium, or at the early Cologne presses. The result was highly satisfactory; and I do not suppose that many were overlooked. Where I found books described in the Hague catalogue, Mr Holtrop was kind enough to compare notes and verify his

descriptions. Where his catalogue is corrected in any point, the correction is due to his own later investigations, which he is ever ready both to make and to communicate.

The books here described are placed roughly according to their typographical characteristics. I have made no attempt to assign a date to any of them; but it may be fairly presumed that they were all printed before 1475.

With reference to the contractions used by the early printers, as there is so little demand in England for bibliography of this kind, our printers cannot be expected to indulge us with the luxury of special types cut to represent every contraction used, as may be seen in Hain's Repertorium printed at Tübingen. I have therefore adopted the common plan of printing in italics all letters which are represented by a contraction in the original. The double hyphen of the original is represented by the ordinary modern hyphen. Any attempt to give some of the contractions by clumsy expedients would only disfigure the page without effecting its purpose.

I.

L. Annæi Senecæ Liber de remediis fortuitorum. No place, no printer's name, no year. 8 leaves in 4^o.

Collation. a⁸; 8 leaves, 27 uneven lines (especially uneven on the verso), no printed signatures, no initial-directors, no hyphens, except on 1^a.

Leaf 1^a—8^b text.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

(H) Vnc librum composuit Seneca nobilissimus

End (8^b li 15):

autem quam rara domi sit ista felicitas;

(li 16 blank)

Annei lucij Senecæ de remedijs

fortuitorum liber explicit

(li 19—27 blank)

Copy examined. Oxford, Bodleian: Auct. N. 5. 5 (N^o 3); perfect.

Not in SBK.

BRH. N^o 79 part 1 (Zell c. 1470), but wrongly identified with Hain

BS. N° 422 part 1 (Zell).

The Mainz public library contains a copy; see Fischer, Lief. iv, p. 103, N° 72 (Zell), and a facsimile of the first three lines on Pl. 4.

Not in Hain (not *14655).

II.

L. Annæi Senecæ Liber de quatuor virtutibus. Ejusdem Liber de moribus. Epitaphium ejusdem. Tres orationes (Aeschinis, Demadis, Demosthenis) in senatu Atheniensi de recipiendo Alexandro magno vel armis repellendo. Demosthenis Oratio ad Alexandrum. Bernardi Silvestris Epistola super gubernatione rei familiaris. Adagia. Architrenius in laudem civitatis Parisiensis. No place, no printer's name, no year. 21 leaves in 4°.

Collation. a⁸ b c (+ 6* 'zenocrates')⁶; 21 leaves, 27 uneven lines (especially uneven on the versos), no printed signatures, no initial-directors, no hyphens.

Leaf 1^a—6^a De quatuor virtutibus; 6^b—10^a De moribus; 10^a Epitaphium; 10^b—11^b Tres orationes: 11^b—13^a Demosthenes ad Alexandrum; 13^b—16^a Bernardus; 16^a—21^a Adagia; 21^b Architrenius.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Annei lucij Senece de quatuor
virtutibus liber Incipit;
(li 3 blank)

(Q) Vatuor virtutum species multorum sapien

End (21^b li 14):

Omne bonum si sola bonis fortuna faveret;
(li 15—27 blank)

Copy examined. Oxford, Bodleian: Auct. N. 5. 5 (N° 4); perfect.

Possibly SBK. N° 16. 67; but if so, not carefully described.

BRH. N° 79 part 2 (Zell c. 1470).

BS. N° 422 part 2 (Zell).

British Museum; see Grenville catalogue, p. 654 (Zell perhaps before 1466). From the Heber and Sykes collections.

The Mainz public library contains a copy; see Fischer, Lief. iv, p. 99, N° 71 (Zell).

Not in Hain.

III.

Historia sancti Albani martyris metricæ. Historia ejusdem

prosaice. No place, no printer's name, no year. 8 leaves in 4^o.

Collation. a⁸; 8 leaves, 27 mostly even lines (more uneven on the versos), no printed signatures, no initial-directors, no hyphens (except once).

Leaf 1^a Hist. metr.; 1^a—8^b Hist. pros.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Martiris albani venerabilis ecce legenda.

Vtilis erranti. quia fertilis est relegenda.

Historia ejusdem metricæ.

(Q) Vem mater genuit fuit hec sibi soror *et* vxor.

End (8^b li 14):

et super niuem dealbari; Amen

(li 15 blank)

Et sic est finita historia sancti albani martiris

(li 17—27 blank)

Copies examined. 1. Oxford, Bodleian: Auct. N. 5. 5 (N^o 7); perfect.

2. In the possession of Mr Boone (1866); perfect, and forming N^o 5 in a volume of tracts given to the library of the convent "Marie laudis ordinis fratrum sancte crucis prope opidum lossense borchloen dyoces' leodiensis" in 1475. Of the other pieces in the volume, N^{os} 1, 2, 4, are by the Printer of *Dictys Cretensis*; and N^{os} 3, 6, 7, 8, by Ulric Zel.

Not in SBK.

BRH. N^o 88 (Zell c. 1470).

Borluut (1857) 3014 (Zell). Bound alone.

British Museum; see Grenville Catalogue, p. 17 (Zell c. 1470).

Not in Hain.

IV.

Tractatus de successionibus ab intestato. Casus breves trium partium tractatus successionum. No place, no printer's name, no year. 16 leaves in 4^o.

Collation. a b⁸; 16 leaves, 27 mostly even lines (on the rectos, but sometimes very uneven on the versos), no printed signatures, no initial-directors, with hyphens, with reference-letters in the outer margin.

Leaf 1^a—15^b Tractatus; 16^a—16^b Casus breves.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Jncipit tractatus de successio-
nibus ab intestato;

(li 3 blank)

(E) xquo materia successionum cuius noti

End (16^b li 11):

non amplius in stirpes.

(li 12 blank)

Hic deseruiunt Autentice Jtaque Cessanti Post
fratres Jn hoc ordine aptissimo

(li 15 blank)

Nota littere .C L L A. significant. vbi in textu
isti casus breues poni debent

(li 18—27 blank)

Copy examined. Cambridge, University Library: AB. 5. 107¹; perfect.
A facsimile of the first page, photographed by Mr W. Nichols of Cambridge, accompanies this paper².

Not in SBK.

Not in BRH (not 137).

Not in Hain (not *15110).

V.

Beati Hieronymi Ordo sive regula vivendi deo. No place,
no printer's name, no year. 30 leaves in 4^o. .

Collation. a b c⁸ d⁶; 30 leaves, 27 mostly even lines, no printed signatures, no initial-directors, with hyphens.

Leaf 1^a—30^b text.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Jncipit prologus in ordinem viuendi deo. eximij
doctoris Jhieronimi ad Eustochium sacram
deo virginem quam Bethlee cum pluribus deo
dicatis virginibus in monasterio sub istius
ordinis obseruationibus concludit;

(li 6 blank)

(T) Epescens in membris. proclium corpus

End (30^b li 20):

vestris iuuare oracionibus;

(li 21 blank)

Explicit ordo siue regula viuendi deo. docto
ris eximij Jheronimi. ad Eustohium sacram
deo virginem. quam bethlehem. cum pluri
bus. deo dicatis virginibus. in monasterio
sub istius ordinis obseruacionibus concludit

(li 27 blank)

Copies examined. \1. Oxford, Bodleian; Auct. N. 5. 5 (N^o 8); perfect.

¹ [Now AB. 12. 59. J.]

² [See Prefatory Note. J.]

2. Cambridge, Trinity College: Grylls 6672¹; perfect, but the quires b and c are transposed, and a half-sheet of the *Augustinus super orationem dominicam* by the same printer is bound into the middle of sig. b.

Not in SBK.

Not in BRH (not N° 156).

BS. N° 1138.

Not in Hain (not *8569).

VI.

Antonini archiepiscopi Florentini Tractatus de instructione seu directione simplicium confessorum. Sancti Johannis Chrysostomi Sermo de paenitentia. No place, no printer's name, no year. 144 leaves in 4°.

Collation. a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s⁸; 144 leaves, 27 sometimes uneven lines, no printed signatures, no initial-directors, with hyphens.

Leaf 1^a—139^a Antoninus; 139^b—143^b Chrysostomus; 144 not known.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Neipiunt Rubrice super Tractatum de instructione
seu directione simplicium confessorum. Et primo

De potestate confessoris in audiendo confessiones
.et absoluendo .i.

End (143^b li 10):

domino nostro ihesu xpō in secula seculorum bene-
dicto Amen;

(li 12 blank)

Explicit sermo de penitentia

Johannis Crisostimi;

(li 15—27 blank)

Copies examined. 1. Oxford, Bodleian: Auct. N. 5. 5 (N° 6); wanting leaf 144.

2. In the possession of A. J. Horwood, Esq.²; wanting leaf 144.

Not in SBK (not 74 or 75).

BRH. N° 98 (Zell c. 1470).

Possibly either Kloss 275 (Zell 1472—73), or 276 (Zell 1474—75), or 277 (Zell 1476 identified with Panzer i. 326. 376).

Not in Hain (not *1162).

VII.

Matthæi de Cracovia Liber de arte moriendi. No place, no printer's name, no year. 18 leaves in 4°.

¹ [Now Grylls. 3. 371. J.] ² [Now in the University Library, Cambridge. J.]

Collation. a⁸ b¹⁰; 18 leaves, 27 almost wholly even lines, no printed signatures, no initial-directors, with hyphens.

Leaf 1^a—17^b text; 18 blank.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Jncipit prologus in librum de arte morien
di magistri mathei de Cracouia sacre the
ologie professoris ;

(li 4 blank)

(C) Vm de presentis exilij miseria mor

End (17^b li 6):

mors occupat terminos eius : mori discat ;

(li 7 blank)

Explicit liber vtilis de arte mori
endi Magistri Mathei de Cracouia ;

(li 10—27 blank)

Copy examined. In my possession ; perfect, bought in January 1868, from M. Tross, who obtained it at the Yemeniz sale (299) in 1867.

SBK. N° 5. 19.

Not in BRH.

The Public Library at Mainz appears to contain a copy ; see Fischer, Lief. iv, p. 80 (Zell).

Hain 5801 (Zell), not seen.

VIII.

Beati Augustini Sermo super orationem dominicam. Ejusdem Expositio super symbolum. Ejusdem Alia expositio super symbolum. Ejusdem Sermo de ebrietate cavenda. No place, no printer's name, no year. 8 leaves in 4°.

Collation. a⁸; 8 leaves, 27 even lines, no printed signatures, no initial directors, with hyphens.

Leaf 1^a—3^a Sermo ; 3^a—5^a Expositio ; 5^a—6^b Alia exp. : 6^b—8^b Sermo de ebr. cav.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Jncipit sermo beati Augustini episcopi. super
orationem dominicam ;

(li 3 blank)

(Q) Voniam domino gubernante. iam estis

End (8^b li 27):

per omnia secula seculorum Amen

Copies examined. 1. Oxford, Bodleian : Auct. 7Q. 5. 9 (N° 1); perfect.

2. Cambridge, Trinity College : C. 4. 80 (N° 5); perfect.

3. Two leaves (2 and 7) are bound in the centre of quire b of a copy of

the *Hieronymi Ordo vivendi deo* by the same printer, in Trinity College Library (Grylls 6672 described above, N° V).

Not in SBK.

Not in BRH (not N° 89).

Hain *1990 (typis ed præced. sc. Zell).

IX.

Maphæi Vegii Dialogus inter Alithiam et Philaliten. No place, no printer's name, no year. 16 leaves in 4°.

Collation. a b⁸; 16 leaves, 27 even lines, no printed signatures, no initial-directors, with hyphens.

Leaf 1 blank; 2^a—3^a Prologue; 3^a—15^b Dialogue; 16 blank.

Beginning (2^a li 1):

Maphei Vegij laudensis dialogus inter
Alithiam et Philaliten Jncipit feliciter.

Prologus
(li 4 blank)

(M) Apheus Vegius. Eustochio fratri.

End (15^b li 7):

sequor libens.

(li 8 blank)

Explicit feliciter Mafei vegei di-
logus inter Alithiam et Philalitena
(li 11—27 blank)

Copy examined. Cambridge, Trinity College: C. 4. 80 (N° 3); perfect, but leaf 1 folded so as to follow leaf 16¹.

Not in SBK.

BRH, N° 77 (Zell c. 1470), but wrongly identified with Hain 15928.

The Mainz public library appears to contain a copy; see Fischer, Lief.

iv, p. 105 (N° 73).

Possibly BS. N° 794 (Zell).

Possibly Kloss 3654 (Zell 1471-72 identified with Panzer ix. 226. 274) or 3656 (Zell 1480).

Not in Hain (not 15928).

X.

Libellus de raptu animæ Tundali et ejus visione. No place, no printer's name, no year. 20 leaves in 4°.

¹ [This volume now stands VI^o. 5. Arn. ter Hoernen, 6 by the Printer of
1. Of the other pieces contained in it *Dictys*. J.]
Nos. 1 and 4 are by Ulric Zell, 2 by

Collation. a⁸ b c⁶; 20 leaves, 27 even lines, no printed signatures, no initial-directors, with hyphens.

Leaf 1^a—18^b text; 19—20 not known.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Jncipit libellus de Raptu anime Tundali et eius
visione Tractans de penis inferni et gaudijs
paradisi;

(li 4 blank)

(A) Nno domini Millesimo centesimo quadra-

End (18^b li 16):

dam sermone de omnibus sanctis contrarium innuere videatur

(li 17 blank)

Explicit libellus de raptu anime
Tundali et eius visione. Tractans de
penis inferni et gaudijs paradisi;

(li 21—27 blank)

Copy examined. Oxford, Bodleian: Auct. N. 5. 5 (N^o 2); wanting leaves 19—20.

Not in SBK.

Not in BRH.

The Mainz public library contains a copy; see Fischer, Lief. iv, p. 96, N^o 69 (Zell).

BS. N^o 790 (ter Hoernen!).

M. Fr. Vergauwen of Ghent has a copy; see Van der Meersch, Recherches, T. I, p. 264, N^o LXXVI (attributed to ter Hoernen on Dibdin's authority).

Hain *15542 (typi Zellianis similes).

XI.

Petri Blesensis Libellus de amicitia christiana. No place, no printer's name, no year. 16 leaves in 4^o.

Collation. a b⁸; 16 leaves, 26 even lines, no printed signatures, no initial-directors, with hyphens, the lines closer together than in the other books.

Leaf 1^a—15^a text; 15^b, 16, blank.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Jncipit libellus magistri Petri Blesensis de ami-
cicia cristiana.

(li 3 blank)

(S) Vbsannabit aliquis et arguet. quod

End (15^a li 6):

eam enormitas reatus eliminet.

(li 7 blank)

Explicit libellus magistri Petri
blesensis de amicitia cristiana.
(li 10—26 blank)

Copies examined. 1. Oxford, Bodleian : Auct. N. 5. 5 (N° 5); wanting leaf 16.

2. In the possession of A. J. Horwood, Esq.; perfect¹.

Not in SBK.

Not in BRH.

BS. N° 1050 (Zell).

Possibly Kloss 2799 (Zell 1475).

Hain *3241 ('Dibdin Ulrico Zell dat').

XII.

P. Ovidii Nasonis Liber de nuncio sagaci. No place, no printer's name, no year. 8 leaves in 4°.

Collation. a⁸; 8 leaves, 24 lines, no printed signatures, no initial-directors, with hyphens, with the initials of the speakers on the left-hand margin.

Leaf 1 blank; 2^a—8^a text; 8^b blank.

Beginning (2^a li 1):

Ouidij Nasonis Sulmonensis poete
de nuncio sagaci liber incipit;
(li 3 blank)

(S) Vm̃mi victoris fierem cum victor amoris

End (8^a li 8):

Hijs verbis tuta. fuit illum virgo secuta;
(li 9 blank)

Ouidij nasonis Sulmonensis poete
De nuncio sagaci liber Explicit
(li 11—24 blank)

Copy examined. Oxford, Bodleian : Auct. N. 5. 4 (N° 1); perfect.

Not in SBK.

Not in BRH.

BS. Supplement N° 275 (Zell).

Hain 12258 (Zell), not seen.

XIII.

P. Ovidii Nasonis Libri tres de arte amandi. Ejusdem Libri duo de remedio amoris. Dictamen ordinatum per fratrem Arnoldum de Buerik magistrum noviciorum in monasterio de rubea valle in Sonia ordinis sancti Augustini. No place, no printer's name, no year. 70 leaves in 4°.

¹ [Now in the University Library, Cambridge. J.]

Collation. a b c d e f g h⁸ i⁶; 70 leaves, 24 lines, no printed signatures, no initial-directors.

Leaf 1^a—49^b De arte amandi; 50^a—67^a De remedio amoris; 67^b blank; 68^a—70^a Buerik; 70^b blank.

Beginning (1^a li 1):

Ouidij Nasonis Sulmonensis de
arte amandi liber primus incipit;

(li 3 blank)

(S) J quis in hoc artem populo non nouit amandi

End (70^a li 10):

Sint pre mente tibi. dilige stare domi

(li 11 blank)

Explicit Dictamen Buerik

(li 13—24 blank)

Copy examined. Oxford, Bodleian: Auct. N. 5. 4 (N^o 2); perfect.

Not in SBK.

Not in BRH.

BS. N^o 326 (Zell), but leaves 68—70 are not noticed. Arnold Buderik (according to Val. Andreas) was an Augustinian monk in the Rooden Kloster at Soignies near Brussels, and in the year 1417 became Prior of a newly founded house at Elzingham near Audenarde.

Hain 12215 (Zell), not seen; and leaves 68—70 not noticed.

Brunet iv. 279 ('exécutée avec des caractères qui ont beaucoup de rapport avec ceux de Conrad Winters de Homburg, imprimeur à Cologne'); described carefully from the d'Ourches copy.

NOTE.

THE photographed facsimile taken from the first page of the *Tractatus de successionibus ab intestato* is, as nearly as possible, the exact size of the original. The large initial E is inserted by hand in red, and the same rubricator has touched all the capitals throughout with a dash of red. In this page both the semicolon and the double hyphen, which at once characterise these books, are easily to be noticed; and I am confident that any one who has before his eyes either this facsimile or any of the volumes described in the present paper, will readily be able to recognise any books that he may possess by the Printer of the *Historia S. Albani*, and to separate them from the Zels in his collection. It is possible that, as M. Brunet seems to suggest, they may be early specimens of the press of Conrad de Homborch; if so, those who have greater facilities than I have, of studying the early Cologne books, should be able to give us a solution.

**¶ Incipit tractatus de successio-
nibus ab intestato ;**

Ex quo materia successionū c9 nota
na vtil ē. ⁊ sepe i mltis casib9 ne-
cessaria i corpe iuris civil tã i textu
b3 q̃ i glo. nosc̃t mmm̃ eē disp̃sa **A**

Ita vt etiã eis q̃ libros legales ad manum hr̃e
pūt difficile sit valde i mltis casib9 successionū
se et alios expedir̃ l̃ certificaē. **I**deo nō parū ne-
cessariū ē maxie p̃ iapiēcū directōne. vt de illa
materia h̃eat aliqd̃ op̃ediose collēm et cōportatū
nō min9 tñ solide positū et fūdatū. quo se uiuāē
possint ne forte ip̃i dictorū textū ⁊ glo. p̃lixita-
te mltitudie ⁊ vaietate defric̃. ab h9 materie tã
vtilis ⁊ nc̃aie se subtrahāt studio et inquisitione
Quaē ego. ip̃os eosdē iapiētes mltis de laboib9
su p̃portāē cupiens : hunc qui sequitur tractatū
magno cū laboē studiū opilaē. i modū p̃ vt hic
b̃nedic̃ **¶** **V**t aut̃ i oib9 casib9 successionū oc- **B**
currentib9 statū q̃s sciat. i qua pte hui9 tractat9
cuiuslibet eorū requirenda sit discussio. sum̃ opere
nc̃a est. huius tractat9 bona. clara. et plana
distinctōz. **I**tergo vt mconfuse et distm̃te presēs
materia p̃tradet̃ : sic hec p̃ntis tractat9 p̃t̃io p̃ri-
cipalis trimemb̃s. q̃ sc̃i i eo p̃mo dicet̃ de suc-
cessione descendencū. sc̃do de ascendencū. t̃cio de

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IX. AN INVENTORY OF THE STUFF IN THE COLLEGE CHAMBERS (KING'S COLLEGE), 1598¹.

THE reference made by Professor C. C. Babington, in his notice of the *musea* or *studiola* at Caius College, to the destruction of the old buildings of King's College, and the consequent loss of all knowledge of their internal arrangements, leads me to recall the attention of the Society to a curious Inventory taken in 1598, which I discovered some years ago bound up with some of the College accounts of the time of Edward IV. and Henry VII. I laid a transcript of it before the Society at the time; but it throws so much light on the nature and arrangements of College rooms only twenty years before Dr Legge's building was erected at Caius College, that it seems desirable to bring it more prominently forward, especially as the one account materially helps to explain the other.

It happens that in our Inventory the names of the occupants of the rooms have been added at the side; a circumstance which adds much to the value of the document. From the weekly and quarterly accounts I have been able to construct a list of the College much like what now appears in the *Cambridge Calendar*; and a glance at this list will show approximately the value and importance of the different sets of rooms. It will be seen that each room contained accommodation for two fellows or four scholars, and almost all the members of the College were in constant residence.

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, March 9, 1868.

The ground-floor rooms are here called by the names by which they were known until the building passed into the hands of the University between forty and fifty years ago; and the present Provost was able to tell me without much difficulty where the several rooms stood. The two views of the interior of the old court, which are to be seen in Cooper's *Memorials of Cambridge*, are sufficient to enable us to understand the position of every set of rooms here mentioned. It must only be remembered that what is here called the gate was not what we know now as the old gateway opposite Clare chapel, but the gate in the passage, commonly called Cow-lane, by which the old court was ordinarily entered on the south side, at the point where the eastern end of the new south Library building adjoins the old south and west sides of the Schools quadrangle.

This entrance is seen at the extreme left of the *First View* of the old court in Cooper's *Memorials*. The low fellows' chamber next the gate was close to this; then, beyond the staircase turret, came *Lions Inn* and *Tailors Inn*; then, in the corner next the present Clare gateway (of course not visible in the engraving), the *Tolbooth*; further, between this last and the great gateway, *Horsekeepers Inn* and *Colliers Inn*. Beyond the great gateway were *Barbers Inn* and *Cobblers Inn*; and beyond this last, the north side of the court with the Hall and other buildings, as represented in the *Second View* in Cooper's *Memorials*. The treasury was immediately over the great gateway. The first middle chamber occupied the space over the passage called Cow-lane and the 'low fellows chamber next the gate'; the second middle chamber over *Lions Inn*, and so on with the others. The first middle chamber, next the University Library, was, on the erection of Gibbs's building in 1728, used as a Combination-room for the fellows.

This short statement seems necessary by way of explanation. The Inventory itself contains a statement of other things besides the contents of the rooms inhabited by the fellows and scholars of the College; but I have not thought it necessary to print these portions here. Such pensioners as there were, whether *commensales ad mensam sociorum* or *scholarium*, seem to have lived on the south side of the chapel,

but there is no mention of them in this volume. The book itself is the last article in a volume called 'Bursars Accounts, vol. 5,' extending from 1482 to 1491, and seems to have found its way here by mistake. These accounts were bound during the bursarship of Edward Betham, who was afterwards a Fellow of Eton, and is known in the University as one of the principal benefactors to the Botanic Garden; but since his time the book seems to have escaped all notice.

ANNO DOMINI 1598

AN INVENTARYE OF THE STUFF IN THE
COLLEDGE CHAMBERS

Mr
Tredway
Ds Saunders

The first midle Chamber

Inprimis a Trundle bed corded
Item vij Iron casements
Item vj wood leaves for the windowes
Item a leade with a pype to washe in
Item a standing bedstead with turned posts
Item a lock & kay & a ring & a bolt on the
Chamber dore
Item ij shelves by the bed syde

Mr
Monk
Newton

The seconde midle Chamber

Inprimis vij Iron casements
Item vj woodden leaves for the wyndowes
Item a presse for books in the vpper studdye
with 4 shelves
Item a locke a handle & 2 bolts on the vtter
Chamber dore
Item a halfe head bedsteade of walnutt tree
varnished vpon layd in woorke
Item a round table & vj playne Joyned stooles
Item a foote pase before the Chimney

Item a litle table in the lower studdye

Item a laver with a spoute of leade

Mr
Gostwicke
Lancaster sen'

The third middell Chamber

Inprimis a playne ioyned oken portall

Item iiij Iron casements & one of woodd

Item a standing bedstead without pillars

Item v wooden leaves for the windowes

Item a locke and a bolt of the Chamber dore

Item ij casements of Iron in the lower studdye

Item a locke on the same studdy Dore belowe

Item a dore for the colehowse belowe

Item a standing bedstead & ij casements in the lofte

Item a table of waynscott & ij ioyned formes in the
Chamber

Item a newe Cisterne or a troughe of leade in
the Chamber

Item waynscott before the said Cisterne & before
the lesser northe wyndowe

Item the great crests of oke for the hangings

Mr Lynn
Mr Hieron

The fowrthe Middell Chamber

Inprimis vj casements of Iron

Item iiij Leaves for the windowes

Item a laver of leade for water

Item a standing bedsteade & a trundell bedstead

Item a locke & boulte for the chamber dore

Item a waynscott table & ij formes

Mr
Sharpe
Chace

The fyfthe middell Chamber

Inprimis x leaves for the wyndowes

Item x yron casements

Item a portall Dore with locke and a presse
at the back of the same portall

Item ij waynscott presses in the wyndowes
wherein the Colledge hathe xx s

Item a trundell bedd

Item a double iron casement & one of woodd
in Gallarye
Item a newe table with a moveable cover & ij
formes with ij stooles of waynscott
Item a booke presse with a wryting table in the
Gallarye and a locke on the Dore thereof
Item a leaden Laver with a troughe & spoute
Item in the standing bedsteade xvj s

Mr
Banister
Lancaster iu'

The sixt middell Chamber

Inprimis a halfe heade bedsteade corded
Item a trundle bedsteade
Item viij casements of Iron & one of woodd in
the Chamber
Item v leaves for the wyndowes
Item a water Lead to wasshe in
Item the gallary without furniture
Item a locke & kay of the Cham' dore
Item a locke & kay on the gallarye dore
Item a studdye well desked on 2 sydes with 4 shelves
Item a wryting table or bord in the studdye
Item a bord in the wyndowe & a leafe to shutt
& borded also vnder the wyndow
Item ij rodde of Iron for curtions in y^e Chamber
wyndowes
Item a square table with a frame & ij formes
Item a frame for books with vij shelves
Item a Double Casement next to Cleare hall in
y^e gallarye with ij openings of Iron
Item an other double casement of Iron in y^e
east ende
Item a litle Cupbord with dores for candlesticks
& trenchers behynde the Chamber dore

Mr Lysle
Mr Biddell

The seventh Middle Chamber

Inprimis a trundle beddsteade

Item a portall of waynscott with a presse ioyned
to yt of bords with locke & kay & 2 payre
of fayre hangells

Item a Courte Cubborde of oke

Item iiij double casements of Iron & one of woodd

Item 9 leaves for the windowes

Item a lead with a spoute for a lavior to washe

Item a gallary with a litle table

Item a frame of oke for books

Item ij casements of wood & ij leaves for wyndowes

Item a locke & ij bolts for y^e dore

Item a studdye desked & shelved rounde

Item a locke & kay for the dore of the studdye

Item the ledges for the hangs in the Chamber

Item a Double Iron Casement with ij openings
in the studdye

Item a round Drawing table in the Chamber

Item a waynscott bedstead with a Tester

bought of Mr
Clark at his
Departing by
John Cowell
Bursar for 26s.

The eight middell Chamber

Inprimis a waynscott settell and viij double
casements of Iron & viij Leaves for the windowes

Item the studdy hanged with greene say

Item a litle vpper Chamber waynscotted

Item for a waynscott presse there is a waynscott
portall newe

Item in the gallarye in the west ende a
waynscott Cubborde

Mr
Sutton
D' Goade sen'

The first vpper Chamber

Inprimis a locke & a kay for the dore, & a ring
and a handle & a boulte

Item vj Iron Casements whereof ij of y^{em} were
bought with the pryce of the ould table &
forme

Item a bedsteade in y^e gallarye

Mr Morrison
Ds Fenn

1598
Mr Rame
D^r Aldem
1598

The seconde vpper Chamber

Inprimis a standing bedstead with head & tester of wood with a trundle bed bothe corded

Item a long table vpon a frame & ij (broken) formes one of them broken

Item a presse with ij leaves & ij payre of hangells

Item iiij Iron Casements and ij of wood

Item vj leaves for the windowes

Item a portall with a latche

Item a leade & a cocke to wasshe with

Item ij studyes locks & kayes

Item a lofte with a dore

Item on the Chamber dore a locke & kay, a ring & ij bolts of Iron

Item iij newe wyndowes of Joyned oke whereof one hathe a presse in yt

Mr King
Ds Marshe
1598

The third vpper Chamber

Inprimis a trundle bedstead corded

[Mr Faldoe
Ds Griffin in
1600]

Item iij wooden Casements and ij Iron double Casements

Item iiij wooden Leaves for the wyndowes

Item a lead to wasshe with a cocke

Item a studdye in the Chamber with lock & kay

Item a wooden Casement in y^e studdie

Item iij shelves & ij desks

Item a locke & kay and a handell on the Chamber dore

Item a portall Dore to the vpper studdye

Mr Osbaston
1598

The fourthe vpper Chamber

Inprimis a trundle beddsteade

Item a studdye in y^e southewest corner of y^e Chamber

Item the halfe charge both of a portall & of a
 fayre waynscott table, and vj^s viij^d towards the
 hangings by the deathe of S^r Dorrell
 Item a fayre Joyned forme of oke & a settell of oke
 Item iiij double Casements of woodd in y^e Chamber
 Item one Casemente of woodd in y^e east studdye
 Item iiij leaves for the wyndowes in the Chamber
 Item a presse with 2 locks & 2 kayes
 Item a lead with a cock to wasshe in
 Item a fayre Double locke on the Chamber Dore
 with one Kaye
 Item an other Double lock with a Kay for the Dore
 on the southewest studdye

Mr Clarke
 Ds Slater
 1598

The fyveth vpper Chamber

Inprimis a table of oke & a long settell to y^e same
 covered with seeling, which seeling is not y^e
 Colledges.
 Item a trundle bed of oke corded of 4^s price
 Item iiij doble casements of wood & iiij leaves for y^e
 windowes
 Item a lead with a spoute to wasshe with
 Item a forme, and a locke & kaye to the Chamber
 dore
 Item a standing bed brought out of M^r Fosters
 Chamber 1585

Mr
 Raven
 D Goade in
 1598

The sixt vpper Chamber

Inprimis the seeling vnder the windowes
 Item a ioyned waynscott portall with hangells a
 latche and a bolt
 Item iiij Iron casements
 Item a studdye Desked rounde with iij shelves
 covered with greene clothe
 Item a locke & kay to the Chamber dore
 Item a gallarye with a long shelve for books

Mr
Sheafe
Ds Bust
1598

The seventhe vpper Chamber

Inprimis a square table with turned feete
Item a settell with a waynscott back
Item a standing bedsteade & a trundle bedd corded
Item a locke & kay on the Chamber dore
Item ij Joyned formes to y^e table
Item ij newe stoole windowes on the west syde
of the Chamber whereof one in the studdye
on the west syde by the Chimneye

Mr Warde
Ds Paske
1598

The eight vpper Chamber

Inprimis iiij glased windowes
Item the gallarye at xxxiij^s iiij^d
Item a backsyde of a portall
Item ij formes ioyned woork
Item a fayre waynscott syde table
Item a truckell bedd steade
Item a locke & kay to the Chamber
Item a litle dore to the Leadds aboue

Dr Shepard
Ds Taylor

The Chamber over the pantree

Inprimis a table with a frame a forme & a benche
Item a studdye in the Chamber ouer y^e hall porche
Those things that Mr Turswell left in this
Chamber & gave to the Coll'
Inprimis a portall of waynscott with latches &
catche in the Chamber dore at x^s
Item ij Andiorons a fyar pan and a payre of
tongues iiij^s iiij^d
Item a Cisterne of lead with cock & spoute v^s
Item the glasse in the Chamber with iiij Iron
casements viij^s

In the gallarye belowe

Item a waynscott dore with hangells & a double
locke & a kay belonging to y^t

Item a portall of waynscott with latches catche
 locke & key entering into the lowe gallerye
 Item a glasse windowe Item a paynted clothe in
 this gall'
 Item a standing bedsteade
 the vpper Chamber
 Item a dore at the stayre foote with a Double locke
 & key
 Item a payre of stayres into the Chamber
 Item a gyrt windowe into the Courte with an Iron
 casement glased Item
 Item a portall with locke & key latches & catches
 & ij hangells
 Item a windowe towards the west with ij Iron
 Casements wholly glased
 Item a gyrt windo[wto]wards the Northe with ij Iron
 Casements well glased
 Item a presse of waynscott
 Item a Dore into y^e leads with a bolt
 Item a standing bedstead in the vpper Chamber
 with a waynscott testerne
 Item the Colehowse belowe in lewe of the Cole-
 howse with 2 Iron casements

Ds Wayver
 Ds Collins
 1598

The Chamber over the old buttrees
 Inprimis ij corded bedsteads
 Item a drawing windowe
 Item a studdye xx^s
 Item a benche of oke
 Item ij Ioyned formes of oke
 Item a square table of oke vpon a frame in
 place of the table with ij tressells
 Item a portall of oke
 Item 2 casements of Iron & the glasse windowe
 Item a studdye entering into the Chamber

Ds Collings Ju
 Ds Outred
 1598

The Chamber over the Treasurye
 Inprimis a bedstead

Item a table a benche & a forme in the Chamber
 Item parte of the nether gallary at xv^s
 Item a standing bed in the vpper gallary corded
 Item an vpper gallarye

Ds Samford
 Ds Parr
 1598

The lowe Fellowes Chamber next y^e gates
 Inprimis a standing bedstead with a trundle
 beddstead
 Item the southe studdy free
 Item the other studdye x^s
 Item iij wyndowes glased with v double casements
 of wood & leaves for the windowes
 Item a portal & ij formes
 Item a table vpon a frame

Ds Griffin
 Johnson
 1598
 [Barlow
 Wyvill ju']

The first Scholers Chamber next the gate
 called Lyons Inn
 Inprimis 4 bedsteads corded
 Item a table with ij formes
 Item a studdye & a presse
 Item vj leaves to the windowes

Ds Milton
 Warberton
 1598
 [Hieron
 Wilson?]

Taylors Inn
 The 2 Scholers Chamber
 Inprimis 4 bedsteads corded
 Item a benche & a forme with a table on a frame
 Item a lettyse in the windowe
 Item v leaves for the windowes
 Item a studdye at vij^s without furniture
 Item a portall

Ds Howgrave
 D Woodd
 1598
 [Wyvell sen'
 Slater]

The Tolebothe
 The third Scholers Chamber
 Inprimis 4 bedsteads corded
 Item a table & 2 formes
 Item a studdy at xij^s
 Item an other studdye at xxiiij^s

Item 4 leaves for the windowes
 Item an old presse of bords converted into the
 raying of 3 studdyes
 Item a portall

Ds
 Montague
 Bradbery
 1598
 [Hynde
 Kellett]

Horskepers Inn
 The fourthe Schollers Chamber

Inprimis 4 bedstedds whereof 2 corded
 Item a table a bench & a portall
 Item a studdye at vi^s viij^d
 Item an other at xiiij^s
 Item ij leaves for the windowes

Ds
 Woodyere
 Taylor
 1598
 [Browne]

Colliers Inn
 The 5th Schollers Chamber

Inprimis ij bedsteades
 Item in a ioyned table ij^s
 Item a forme & a benche
 Item the old studdye at xj^s
 Item ij leaves for the wyndowes
 Item a lettyse to the great windowe

D Hynd
 Tayler
 1598
 [Woodhall
 Smithson]

The 6th Sch' Chamber
 Barbers Inn

Inprimis iiij bedsteads corded
 Item a ioyned table with a frame, a forme
 & a benche
 Item a presse
 Item leaves to the wyndowes v
 Item the studdye at ij^s vj^d
 Item in the same studdye a glasse wyndowe
 with a casment

D Archbold
 D Gouge
 1598
 [Bickerstaffe
 Bateman]

The Coblers Inn
 The 7th Schollers Chamber

Inprimis 4 bedsteads a forme & 4 leaves for
 the wyndowes

Ds Langley
Ds Porter
1598
[Saywell]

The blockhowse
The 8th Schol' Chamber behinde the hall

Inprimis 3 bedsteads & a table with a frame
Item a forme & a benche
Item the lesser studdye
Item 2 Casements of wood
Item a locke & kay to the Chamber dore

The Newe Parlor

Inprimis a fayre long table of waynscott with iij
formes therunto belonging of waynscott
Item a Courte Cubborde of waynscott
Item the parlor all seeled with waynscott
Item ij long Curten rodde with ij greene say
Curtens for the wyndowes
Item a plate Candlestick
Item Iron Casements

As there are numerous alterations in the MS. made during the years 1600—1605, which it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to represent intelligibly in print, I have done my best to give the Inventory as originally drawn up in 1598. There are but three fellows whose names are not found here, William Faldoe, Richard Cooke, and Thomas Griffin. On the other hand two names occur, Mr Sharpe and Ds Samford, both of whom ceased to be fellows on the 18th of August 1598. Faldoe and Griffin may have been occupying these rooms at Christmas, 1598; at any rate they appear in 1600 as joint occupants of one room which had changed hands during the interval; and the Commons books shew that they were in residence. Cooke was absent on leave, being a master at Eton; and this will account for the fact that the uppermost room at the corner next Clare is the only fellow's room which has but one occupant, Mr Osbaston. The old court seems thus to have been made to afford the precise amount of accommodation that was necessary for the seventy members of the foundation.

The following is a list of the College as it stood at Christmas 1598. The statutable regulations about diverting fellows to particular studies were rigorously observed in Provost Goade's time, and the Students in Divinity (S.D.), in Law (S.C.L.), in Medicine (S.M.), and in Astronomy (Stud. Astr.) have been pointed out from the entries in the books of protocols in the College archives. Perhaps the most remarkable thing is that the oldest fellow then on the list was admitted from Eton eight years subsequent to the election of Dr Goade as Provost, and only one and twenty years earlier than the youngest member of the College. The extreme youthfulness of the whole of such a large body of Fellows is a fact which it is very difficult for us to realise in the present day, while it accounts for a good deal of the schoolmaster and schoolboy state of things which is so noticeable in the records of the proceedings of that period.

As there would be a certain amount of blank space on the page, I have added the date of admission of each Fellow and Scholar, and his age at his election at Eton, in all cases obtained from the College registers, as the names and dates in the printed *Registrum Regale* are very inaccurate. The asterisk prefixed to any one's name signifies that he was in priest's orders at Christmas, 1598.

KING'S COLLEGE.

CHRISTMAS 1598.

Provost.

	Admitted from Eton
*Goade, Roger, M.A., D.D., admitted March 19, 1569	... Sept. 1, 1555 (17)

Senior Fellows.

*Monk, Thomas, M.A., B.D., <i>Vice-Provost</i> (19)	... Aug. 28, 1577
*Banister, Henry, M.A., B.D., <i>Dean of Divinity and</i>	
<i>Librarian</i> (19)	... Aug. 27, 1579

Admitted from Eton

*Sutton, Richard, M.A., S.D., <i>Bursar and Catechist</i> (18)	} Sept. 4, 1581
*Clarke, Thomas, M.A., B.D. (18)	
Sheppard, William, M.A., M.D., <i>Dean of Arts and Philosophy Lecturer</i> (16)	Sept. 1, 1582
Chace, William, M.A., S.M. (18)	} Aug. 24, 1583
*King, Geoffrey, M.A., S.D. (16)	
Tredway, Humfrey, M.A., S.D. (16)	} Aug. 17, 1584
Lysle, William, M.A., S.C.L. (16)	
Morrison, Thomas, M.A., S.C.L. <i>Bursar</i> (20)	} Aug. 24, 1586
*Gostwicke, Roger, M.A., S.D., <i>Dean of Arts and Philosophy Lecturer</i> (18)	
Lancaster, Thomas, M.A., S.D. (18)	
Newton, Fogg, M.A., S.D., <i>Bursar</i> (18)	

Fellows.

Raven, Miles, M.A., Stud. Astr., <i>Greek Lecturer</i> (18) ...	Mar. 29, 1587
Biddell, Abraham, M.A., S.D. (19)	} Aug. 28, 1587
Osbaston, Robert, M.A., S.D. (17)	
Ward, Robert, M.A., S.D. (17)	} Aug. 24, 1588
*Rame, Thomas, M.A., S.D. (18)	
Lancaster, Richard, M.A., S.D. (17)	} Sept. 6, 1589
Marshe, Nicholas, M.A., S.D. (18)	
Lynn, Edward, M.A., S.D. (18)	
*Hieron, Samuel, M.A., S.D. (18)	} Aug. 24, 1590
Faldoe, William, M.A., S.D. (17)	
Sheafe, Herman, M.A., S.D. (18)	
Goade, Matthew, B.A. (16)	} Aug. 26, 1591
Saunders, Robert, B.A. (18)	
Collins, Samuel, B.A. (15)	
Goade, Thomas, B.A., <i>Junior Lecturer</i> (16)	} Sept. 1, 1592
Aldem, John, B.A., <i>Junior Lecturer</i> (18)	
Weaver, Thomas, B.A., <i>Junior Lecturer</i> (18)	
Taylor, Thomas, B.A. (16)	
Griffin, John, B.A. (17)	} Sept. 30, 1592
Langley, Thomas, B.A. (16)	
Outred, William, B.A. (17)	
*Cooke, Richard, B.A. (17)	} Aug. 24, 1593
Bust, Matthew, B.A. (17)	
Woodyer, William, B.A. (18)	
Howgrave, Henry, B.A. (16)	
Slater, William, B.A. (17)	
Parr, Elnathan, B.A. (16)	Sept 17, 1593

Admitted from Eton

Hynde, Edward, B.A. (17)	} Aug. 24, 1594
Collins, Daniel, B.A. (15)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Paske, William, B.A. (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Milton, John, B.A. (16)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Porter, Thomas, B.A. (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Griffin, Thomas, B.A. (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montagu, Richard, B.A. (16)	

Junior Fellows.

Archbold, John (15)	} Aug. 25, 1595
Fenn, Thomas (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bradbury, Thomas (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wood, Gerard (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gouge, William (16)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Taylor, William (16)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Scholars.

Warberton, William (17)	Aug. 24, 1596
Johnson, Arthur (19)	} Aug. 29, 1597
Taylor, Caleb (18)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bickerstaffe, James (18)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Woodhall, Edmund (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Smithson, John (18)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyvell, Francis (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hynde, Edmund (17)	Sept. 19, 1597
Hieron, Thomas (16)	} Aug. 25, 1598
Slater, John (17)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bateman, Richard (16)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barlow, William (15)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kellett, Edward (15)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Browne, Thomas (15)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyvell, William (15)	
Wilson, Edmund (15)	
Saywell, Thomas (16)	

Fellow-Commoners.

Hill, William	|	Fisher
Ansham, William		Ansham, Gideon
Locke, Thomas		Leventhorpe, John

Scholar-Commoners.

Marshall		Dawborne
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Conducts and Clerks.

*Williamson, Henry, M.A.	Tibbold, John
*Siddall, Adam, M.A.	Hutton, Richard
*Murrey, William, B.A.	Rowse, Edward
Wilkinson, Robert, B.A.	Pomfrett, John
Hammond, Thomas, <i>Master of the Choristers</i>	Power, John, <i>Notary Public, Bur- sars' Clerk and Registrar</i>

Choristers.

Ewsden	Feasor	Crosfeild	Daye
Throgmorton	Mosse	Hogkins	Bromsall
Lancaster	Weaver	Smythe	Burnett
Cacott	Pryme	Weale	Burton

Benefices in the patronage of the College, with the names of the Incumbents and the date of their presentation.

Cambr.	Kingston, R.	William Smyth, M.A., D.D.	July 8, 1596
Devon	Sampford Courtenay, R.	Michael Cosworth	.....
Dorset	Stower Preaux, R.	John Turner, M.A.	Apr. 23, 1585
Essex	Danton Waylett, R.	William Kettell, M.A.	Sept. 17, 1593
Hants	Fordingbridge, V.	William Henson, M.A., B.D.	Nov. 3, 1579
	Monkston, R.	Adam Robins, M.A.	Mar. 29, 1582
	Ringwood, V.	Osmond Lakes, M.A., B.D.	Dec. 13, 1579
Lanc.	Prescot, V.	Thomas Meade, M.A.	Dec. 5, 1583
Linc.	Willoughton, V.	Henry Greene	July 15, 1562
Norf.	Coltishall, R. }	Nicholas Aylande, B.A.	Mar. 31, 1564
	Horsted, R. }		
	Lessingham, R.	Francis Spooner, B.A.	July 9, 1582
	Toft Monks, R. }	Philip Ansham, M.A.	Nov. 22, 1592
	Haddiscogh, R. }		
	West Wrotham, R.	Robert Coony, M.A., B.D.	Sept. 1, 1579
Suff.	Finborough Parva, V.		
Warw.	Wootton Waven, V.	John Mascall, B.A.	Aug. 18, 1580
Wilts	Broad Chalke, V.	John Archer, M.A.	July 19, 1575

X. THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY¹.

[A REPRINT of the slight sketch of the history of the University Library contributed to the *Cambridge University Gazette*² in February and March, 1869, has been so often asked for, that I have obtained leave to reproduce it. It is not what I should write now; but, seeing that it has been quoted and referred to by more than one writer, there is a certain convenience in having a verbatim reprint of what is extremely troublesome to consult, and almost impossible to procure, in its original condition. Where there are any positive errors in fact, I have made the necessary correction in a foot-note enclosed within brackets; otherwise I have made no alterations. The account of the several rooms, in which the Library was contained in the early periods of its history, is, I am aware, more or less inaccurate; but I must leave this to be set right when Mr J. W. Clark has brought out Professor Willis's exhaustive work on our University and College buildings.

It must be borne in mind that the papers here reprinted are not the result of any research made at the time or for the purpose, but merely notes embodying a few of the facts picked up in the course of twelve years' work at the Library by one who loved to know something of the personal history of any volume which might come into his hands. Since that time the present Registry, Dr Luard, has rendered an invaluable service, first, by collecting and arranging in volumes all the papers existing in the University Registry which concern the Library, and secondly, by printing a Calendar of them in a handy volume. This unpretending work of his will serve as a solid and necessary basis for any future historian of the Library. But even this only brings out into more vivid distinctness the melancholy scantiness of our materials for anything which could be dignified with the title of 'Annals of the Cambridge University Library.'

HENRY BRADSHAW.]

CAMBRIDGE, October 7, 1881.

¹ Papers contributed to the *Cambridge University Gazette* in February and March, 1869: reprinted and published as Memorandum No. 6, November, 1881.

² The papers appeared on successive Wednesdays in the Lent Term, February 3, 10, 17, 24, and March 3, 10, 17, 1869.

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

IT is enough to make a Cambridge man envious, who is curious about the former history of the University, to look through Mr Macray's recently published *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, where the author has extracted from the abundant materials under his hands an almost unbroken series of anecdotes of varied points of interest, all illustrating, more strongly than has ever been shewn before, the fact that the Library has been, as indeed it should be, the centre of the literary activity of the University. Since the book came out, the question has been often asked, "Why cannot we have a similar account of our own Library?" But the questioners hardly reflect that the so-called practical nature of our institutions has been sufficient to prevent the possibility of any thought being given except to the immediate wants of the hour. Books are wanted for working purposes, and the wants are supplied as far and as readily as possible; while any regard for the Library, except as a place from which we can carry off the books we want to use, is looked upon by our highest authorities as a matter of merely antiquarian curiosity, and one therefore to be steadily though quietly discouraged. In consequence of this, the history of our Library is a blank for whole centuries together; a handful of stray papers, a few mutilated old catalogues, the account books (very incomplete) for the last fifteen years, and one or two very meagre entry books (also imperfect) stretching back to about 1780—these are all that the University Library contains of the history of the last two hundred years analogous to the rich store of correspondence and entry books of donations, purchases, &c, from which Mr Macray has drawn the materials for his *Annals*.

One reason for the dearth of materials in the Library for its own history is to be found in the circumstance that the

Library is really scattered over the whole country. The perfect freedom of access to all parts of the building, and the equal freedom of carrying books away (every man being so far his own librarian), these both help to account for that absence of concentration which alone gives the character of steady permanence which is such a marked feature of the other great libraries of the country. The absolute necessity of going to Oxford or to the British Museum if any one wants to examine a book preserved in either of those libraries, compels the authorities to provide for the convenience of the numerous persons who are always to be found at work there, and to set apart compartments fit for quiet study, such as but few ever feel the need of in this place. Nevertheless, the advantages of the unrestricted use of our University Library are so great and so keenly appreciated by many of those who share the privilege, that it is not pleasant to look forward to the time when the very extent of the Library will necessitate at least a partial limitation in this respect, and so force us gradually to assimilate our habits to those of our neighbours.

It will, perhaps, be of interest to some persons to have a slight sketch of the history of the Library, as far as our very scanty materials will allow; though the medley of books inside the walls is even more striking than the marvellous mixture of brick and stone in various styles which goes to form our block of University buildings, of which the Library forms so large a part. What is by courtesy called the arrangement of the books is sufficient to perplex the student whose time is precious, and who finds divinity, chemistry, poetry, and natural history all running into one another as if they were kindred subjects; but it is still more bewildering to any one who strives to trace the gradual development of the Library from an examination of the cases in which the books are placed. We have often heard of the principal benefactors to the Bodleian Library having been induced to bequeath their own libraries to the University of Oxford from seeing the careful way in which the bequest of their predecessors had been housed and kept together. The coincidence at Cambridge is too striking to be accidental, where we find that

only two such bequests¹ are on record, Dr Holdsworth's of more than ten thousand volumes in 1649², and Bp Hacket's of about a thousand in 1670; and that these are so scattered about the Library, that it requires a familiarity with the bindings of books, such as few persons care to possess, to tell from what quarter any book was obtained. All special collectors are, no doubt, apt to exaggerate the importance of having their collections kept together after their death, though it is perhaps a pardonable way of attempting to force a feeling of gratitude where otherwise their names would very soon be forgotten. It is probable that by drawing attention to the fact that none of the great collectors of the last two hundred years have thought fit to leave their books to our University Library, we may be pointing to a lesson which our successors may profit by, even though we are too indifferent to pay any attention to it ourselves.

It was in the latter part of the fourteenth century that the University first stirred itself to have public buildings of its own, and as a divinity school with a chapel above for divine service and University business was its first thought, so the common library was the next want provided for. It is interesting to note that this movement took place at a time when England was just beginning to possess a native literature. The books that remain to us of an earlier date are insulated remains connected with particular parts of the country; but in the reign of Richard II. we find an English Bible provided by Wyclif and his followers, an English Prayer Book for the laity, the cyclopedia of arts and sciences of Glanvil, and the ancient and modern universal history of Higden, both put into English by Trevisa, while the less solid though more enduring writings of Chaucer, Gower, and the

¹ The late Dr Lee, of Hartwell, induced Burckhardt, the traveller, to leave his Arabic Manuscripts to the University Library, in case he died in the East; and 300 volumes now in the Library are the result of this bequest. But this apparent exception offers no illustration of the induce-

ment spoken of above, of which the history of the Bodleian and most College Libraries in both Universities affords such numerous instances.

² [The bequest of Henry Lucas in 1664 should have been added here, making *three* instead of *two*; see below, page 198.]

author of *Piers Ploughman*, serve to increase the list and to shew that English readers were then to be found. The north side of the quadrangle, containing the divinity school and the chapel, was furnished shortly before 1400, and steps were taken to build the west side in 1458, the south side, containing the Philosophy (now Law) School and the Common Library above, being already completed.

II.

1424—1473.

THERE are no certain data to shew the precise period at which the Library was begun and finished; but from an early list of books preserved in the Registry¹, and a petition from the University to the King in 1438, it is evident that the Common Library had come into existence during the earlier years of the fifteenth century. Several volumes now remaining, the gift of Dr Walter Crome, seem to point to the feast of St Hugh, the 17th of November, 1444, as having been in some measure an opening day of the new Library. This was possibly the time when the room (now the first room on entering the Library) was finished and ready for use; while the existence of the list mentioned above, certainly drawn up before 1437, and not containing any of the books given by Crome in 1444 and subsequent years, would seem to point to the fact that a collection of books had been growing up in the University before the appointment of any definite room to contain it. Some of the books still remain, in spite of the general clearance of rubbish (as old books were then considered) which took place in the reign of Edward VI., a clearance which has left the Oxford Library without a single volume to connect its earlier with its later history, and has spared very few even of our College and Cathedral Libraries. The gem of our original Library is a copy of Chaucer's

¹ [The earliest gift in this list which we can date with any certainty is the bequest of Dr Richard Holme, Warden

of King's Hall, in 1424. Some of his books still remain.]

translation of his favourite Boethius, which must have been given to the University during the generation immediately succeeding Chaucer's death. It well deserves to be looked upon as the patriarch of the place, and the donor, Mr John Croucher, to have a place in our recollection as the founder of our English Library.

The next landmark we come upon is an inventory of books and other precious things belonging to the University, handed over by the out-going proctors, Ralph Songer and Richard Cockeram, in 1473. The list is interesting in more ways than one; it shews the state of the place with the additions since Crome's time, and yet before the great accession which took place a few years later by means of Rotherham's benefaction; and again affords a means of comparison with another list made precisely a century later, in 1573, when the wreck of the Library caused by the Reformation led Archbishop Parker to try, by gifts from himself and his friends, to render the collection more worthy of the University. But a still more interesting point in the list of 1473 is that it shews us the books arranged in classes, with stalls on the north side looking into the quadrangle, and desks on the south looking out towards the then rising chapel of King's College; and we are able to form some judgment of the relative importance of the different studies of the place from noticing the classes allotted to each subject. Our historians are very fond of telling us that the libraries of the later middle ages were choked with the writings of the schoolmen, that the Bible and the earlier fathers of the Church had been supplanted by Petrus Lombardus and his commentators. A glance at the arrangement of the University Library in 1473 will shew how false this assumption is, and a cursory examination of the history of most of our libraries will shew that the great bulk of the scholastic writers were added to our collections by the benefactors of the seventeenth century, when facts shew that these subjects were very deeply studied, though it is not always convenient for those writers to remember it who seek to depreciate as contemptible everything that was studied before the Reforma-

tion. The last four classes on each side of the room were devoted to Theology, represented by the Bible text and the leading commentators, St Augustine, St Jerome, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Cardinal Hugo, Nicholas de Lyra, and others. One class only, next to the preceding, was set apart for *Theologia disputata*, the Master of the Sentences and his expositors. The next three on the same side were devoted to Canon Law; and the remaining class on the same side to Civil Law. On the north side, after the four classes allotted to Theology, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, and Medicine had each one stall, and the remaining one was given to Logic and Grammar, including besides such books as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lucan, and Claudian.

The two lists mentioned above, both of which have been printed in full in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's *Communications*¹, afford more ground for remark than anything later which we possess; so that they have led to fuller observations on the earliest portions of our history than may perhaps seem necessary or desirable. But after this period there is a great gap in our materials, and we are able to run more rapidly over much of the later history of the Library, merely pointing out the leading benefactors and the most prominent changes in the arrangement of the place.

III.

1473—1500.

THE fourth side of the quadrangle was built about 1475, chiefly by Bishop Rotherham, one of the original members of King's College, and afterwards successively Bishop of Rochester (1468) and Lincoln (1471), and Archbishop of York (1480-1500). He was Chancellor of the University for several years at intervals between 1469 and 1485, and is said to have given at least two hundred volumes to the Library. Some of these are still remaining, and on one or two his name is still traceable, and the date 1484, but the University records of

¹ [See pages 16—54 of this volume. J.]

that time are in a very unsatisfactory condition, and it is impossible to make any definite statement of what Rotherham actually did for the place. Two points, however, are noticeable in connexion with his gift. Being the only part of the University buildings which bore on its face the record of the princely spirit of liberality of the donor, our authorities a century ago displayed in the most characteristic manner the mode of treating the memory of benefactors which has been alluded to above. The building was pulled down, and the Gothic front, with the Bishop's arms, &c., upon it, was sold off as rubbish, and now forms the entrance to the stables at Madingley Hall. After this it is needless to add that the new building contained no record of its replacing an older one, and all notice of Rotherham is obliterated from the library¹. The second point is instructive in another way; the part of this latest building, which is devoted to books, formed a lesser library (*Bibliotheca minor*), and in it were kept apparently Rotherham's benefaction, and other books of a choicer sort. Here long afterwards the Lambeth Library was housed, and after the restoration of that collection to Archbishop Sheldon, the manuscripts and other special books were here kept in cases; so that from Rotherham's time to the middle of the last century, the East-room (as it is now called) seems to have retained more or less the character of a smaller or select library, which it would have been well to keep up; and certainly the want of it creates much difficulty and uneasiness at the present time. At the Bodleian, the plan of having an *Auctarium* or additional room, where the choicest books from all the collections should be kept together under more especial care, was only adopted towards the close of the last century,

¹ A similar fate seems likely to attend Rotherham's successors. It has been proposed to remove the two Georges from the Senate-House, in order to find room for a statue of the late Prince Consort. But it should be remembered that these statues are not put there as a tribute to the reigning House of Hanover, but because these

two sovereigns were the two principal benefactors to the University Library and Senate-House at the time. There is much to be said on the fit place for putting memorials of the leading benefactors and the most distinguished members of the University respectively, but this is not the occasion to say it.

shortly after Cambridge had abolished almost all restriction of access to the whole library, in spite of the numerous instances of theft which had then lately been brought to light. The revival of Rotherham's plan of a lesser library, in case of any new accession of space for books, might possibly be found to be a means of keeping the more valuable portion of the library, such books for instance as could not possibly be replaced, under a little more careful supervision than has been at all practicable for many years past; while it would not be in any way an encroachment upon the liberty at present enjoyed with respect to the large class of books in more general request.

IV.

1500—1600.

WE have seen a vigorous effort to provide a library for the University made simultaneously with the rapid spread of the art of printing in the fifteenth century. But the effort was too early to be lasting, and through the greater part of the sixteenth century we find but few traces even of the existence of the library. Bishop Tunstall, shortly before his translation to Durham in 1529-30, sent several books to Cambridge, all bearing his autograph inscription at the beginning: "*Cuthbertus Londoniensis episcopus studiosis dono dedit.*" Among them are the Complutensian Bible, and several Greek books from the Aldine and other early presses, as well as some manuscripts, the earliest Greek books that the University possessed. It will be remembered that some few years before this Croke had begun lecturing in Greek, and had induced a foreign printer to set up a press here; but the interest in these things soon flagged; the teachers ceased, and the press was idle for sixty years longer. The stir of the year 1534 caused a slight sign of activity; the old chests were ordered to be emptied, and the cautions contained in them to be converted into money; any old and useless books among them to be sold, any that seemed useful to be put into the library. In 1541 we find Cheke borrowing a manuscript of Tzetzes' Scholia

on Hesiod that they may be printed; and the Cologne bookseller John Birchman's dedication to Bishop Tunstall (June, 1542) shews that the Bishop's gifts were being turned to some account on the Continent if not in Cambridge. The University's side of the transaction is not so creditable. No pains seem to have been taken to recover the book so lent; at least no subsequent catalogues present any traces of it.

In 1547, the commencement of Edward's reign, a clean sweep was made of the old common library, and for the next forty years it was used as a second Divinity school, now wanted for the Regius Professor. The hatred of the old learning seems to have been for a time so intense, that few things having the semblance of antiquity about them were spared. The fact that in the King's own copy of the new edition of the Greek Testament (ed. Steph. Paris, 1550) we find large fragments of an early manuscript of Horace and Persius used for binder's waste, is a fair illustration of the respect in which the different kinds of learning were then held.

On the accession of Elizabeth a fresh interest was felt in the library, and the Vice-Chancellor was actually moved to have the windows mended, and a new lock put to the door; but with this effort the feeling again subsided, and the entire amount laid out upon the library during the first fifteen years of this reign was £1. 6s. 8d. In 1574, however, all this was changed; and it is to Dr Andrew Perne, the learned Master of Peterhouse, that we may fairly look as the principal agent in the restoration of the library at this period. Known to have been on terms of intimacy with Parker, and celebrated as one of the most learned and studious men of his time, and a principal benefactor of his college, it is mortifying to think that all traces of such a man and of his benefactions should have been so completely effaced from the library. At the beginning of 1574 Dr Perne writes from Lambeth to the registry to ask for a list of the books in the library, as he hopes the Archbishop will do something for it. It is from a copy of this list now in the registry, and from a somewhat similar list published about the same time by Dr Caius in his *Historia*, that we learn the fact that the library now contained

scarcely 180 volumes, or little more than half what it had had just a century before. The Archbishop sent down a hundred volumes all carefully picked, and among them 25 thick volumes made up from some of the choicest manuscripts in his own library. Bishop Pilkington, of Durham, and Bishop Horne, of Winchester, immediately followed the Archbishop's example, as so did also the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, whose large book-plate (possibly one of the earliest instances of such things) may still be seen in a few of his books which retain their original binding. Other benefactions continued to come in, and Dr Perne, now Vice-Chancellor, must sometimes have looked back with wonder upon the year of his proctorship (1547), when the old common library had been cleared of its contents as useless lumber.

In July, 1577, we find for the first time a member of the University appointed librarian, at an annual stipend of £10. The person chosen was William James¹, a Peterhouse man, educated under Perne, and probably chosen by him. From some cause however, James ceased to be librarian at Midsummer, 1581, and a new arrangement was made. A tax was imposed upon degrees, and Richard Moody, the school-keeper, was then made keeper of the library at a salary of five marks a year. Next year a stringent set of rules was drawn up for the working of the library and the conduct of the keeper,—rules most excellent and careful in themselves, but reminding one only too forcibly of the numerous orders made in much more recent times and now buried in minute-books, all having this in common, that they were framed with the best intentions, but by persons who seem to have thought that such orders were a living power and could work themselves. Certain it is that the articles of 1582 have not left much impression upon the library, and the lists, which might

¹ James matriculated at Peterhouse in 1562, and incepted in arts in 1568. He is probably identical with the William James who succeeded Matthew Stokys in 1577 as Registrar of King's College. The College accounts, &c.,

are all in his handwriting from 1577 to 1581. His connexion with the College and the University Library is not noticed in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*.

have preserved to us the memory of our benefactors, have long since disappeared. The same year the University received, besides a good many volumes from Bishop Barnes, of Durham, three books from Theodore Beza, then Rector of the University of Geneva. The manuscript which has since borne his name still remains, after a lapse of nearly three centuries, the greatest treasure of the library; but the other two books, the rare Constantinople polyglot Pentateuchs in the Hebrew character, were some years later sent up to Lord Burghley by the Vice-Chancellor, and never found their way back again.

At this point we find two fresh instances of Dr Perne's anxiety for the library. In the Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1584-5, is a payment "for a carte to bring certayne written bookis from Peter howse to the schooles, gyven by Mr Dr Perne to the librarye," and also "for twoe that did helpe to lade and vnlade the same." Perne died in 1589, and by his will left to the library "all the old doctors and historians in written hand in parchment or paper that he had at Cambridge or Ely." (See *Ath. Cant.* ii. 47.) These two gifts, from the very terms in which they are described, must have been something very considerable; and it is not unlikely that about 100 volumes of MSS., which certainly came to the library between 1575 and 1600, but which have hitherto lain unclaimed, are to be put down to Perne's munificence¹. Among them is an eighth-century copy of the Latin Gospels, which of itself would deserve a special commemoration.

Between these two last dates, in 1586, the books had accumulated to such an extent that Rotherham's library must have been quite unable to hold them. A grace was passed to restore the Regius Divinity School (the original Common

¹ A considerable number of the volumes in question belonged before the Reformation to the Cathedral Library at Norwich. Perne was a Norfolk man, and we know that he was at Norwich in 1573 (*Ath. Cant.* ii. 46). From the fact that some of the Norwich books found their way to Archbishop Parker's shelves, it is clear

that they must have left Norwich before 1575; and it is not improbable that an examination of the chapter accounts would bring to light a notice of the sale of the books to Perne; and the chapter would thus have one more reason to be grateful to their notorious Dean, George Gardiner.

Library) to its former use, and the room was again adapted to the use of the library at a cost of more than £125. In 1591 Dr Lorkin died and left his medical books to the University; and in 1598 Lord Lumley sent a number of duplicates from his library, many of which had belonged to Archbishop Cranmer and have his autograph "Thomas Cantuarien" at the beginning. Lord Burghley is also said to have given books, but there seems at present no possibility of identifying them. This period closes in 1600 with the publication of the *Ecloga* of Thomas James, Bodley's first librarian. It is a list of all the manuscripts in the University and College Libraries, and in default of documents of our own, it is interesting to learn here the progress which had been made in our collection of manuscripts between 1573 and 1600. It at this time contained 260 volumes, and the chief source of dissatisfaction is that for the greater part of them we can only conjecture to whom we are indebted. It is quite possible that further search, especially at Peterhouse, might bring to light some documents which would shew more clearly the position which Perne is entitled to hold in our recollection as the restorer of the library in the sixteenth century; and on this ground alone it is not lost labour to bring forward such facts as we have been able to collect.

V.

1600—1660.

THE reign of James the First is an entire blank in the library. A volume of the King's own works, with a letter signed by the King, and two volumes of Bacon's¹ given by

¹ Some few years ago these volumes of Bacon in their embroidered velvet bindings, and with the author's letters to the University fastened in at the beginning, were taken out of the compartment where they had long been kept under some sort of custody, and

were put into an ordinary book-case in the chief thoroughfare of the library, in order to make the collection of Bacon's works appear as large as possible. It was a simple-minded way of drawing public attention to the munificence of Basil Montagu, who

himself, are the only matters to be noticed during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It is perhaps to this period, certainly to the former half of this century, that we may attribute that rebinding of all the manuscripts which has destroyed every trace of their former history, even to the names of the donors. But soon after the accession of Charles the First a revival took place. We learn from contemporary correspondence that the Duke of Buckingham, then Chancellor of the University, had an idea of building a new library for the University, at a cost of seven thousand pounds. This plan was frustrated by his assassination in 1628; but his name stands out as one of the leading benefactors of the library, as having founded our oriental collection, just as Bishop Tunstall's name is connected with the foundation of our Greek collection precisely a century earlier. It seems to have been at the suggestion of Archbishop Ussher that the Duke of Buckingham purchased in Holland the oriental manuscripts from the library of Erpenius, who had died in 1625. The purchase had not been fully carried out when the Duke died; but his intention was carried into effect by his widow, and the books were received by the University in 1632. To this day the people of Leyden cannot understand how the transaction was managed; they say that a large instalment of the purchase money had already been paid by the corporation, but yet that by some means the manuscripts were never delivered, and that they have reason to believe that some of them are at Cambridge, and some perhaps elsewhere in England. True it is that they are all here, and we know whose liberality we have to thank for them; indeed, among them are some of the most valuable books which the library now possesses.

The appointment of Abraham Wheelock¹, to the post of

had presented to the library the large collection of Bacon's works, formed for him at Mr Pickering's expense, which were the basis of the set. In a very short time, however, one of the autograph letters of Bacon disappeared, and the other would probably have soon followed but for the kindly in-

terference of some member of the Senate, which led to the books being replaced in the compartment from which they had been taken.

¹ As it has not been thought worth while to include Wheelock's predecessors in the list of *Custodes Bibliothecæ* printed in the *Graduati*, it may be as

librarian in 1629 seems to have had a good effect. He combined the offices of Reader in Arabic and Anglo-Saxon. Not however that this prevented his attention to his duties as Librarian; the Parker and Erpenius collections gave material for his lectures, and the library seems to have been well used and well cared for during his tenure of office. There are traces of his hand almost throughout the collection as it existed in his day; and we certainly know more of the library and have more materials still preserved there for its history from what remains to us of Wheelock's time and that of his immediate successor, William Moore, than we have of any subsequent period down to the last twenty years.

About 1640 another proposal was made to build a new library, after a plan designed by Dr Cosin, then Master of Peterhouse, and a subscription was set on foot. But though this project was set aside on the outbreak of the civil war, the interest felt in the library was by no means allowed to flag. In 1645-6 we find the University taking advantage of the abolition of episcopacy to petition Parliament that Archbishop Bancroft's library might be transferred from Lambeth to Cambridge in accordance with the provisions of his will. A year later the petition was granted, and the books which had been added to the library at Lambeth since Bancroft's death were included in the grant. Precisely a year later, 24th March, 1647-8, the Commons passed resolutions to spend £2000 on the University Library and £500 on the purchase of a collection of Hebrew books which had formerly belonged to an Italian Rabbi, Isaac Pragi. The former resolution did not take effect, but the latter was entrusted to Selden and Lightfoot to carry out, and the books were brought down and soon made available

well to put their names on record, as far as they appear in the audit books, subject to revision from the actual vouchers, which it is very troublesome to examine. The office was established by Grace of the Senate, 10th July, 1577:

1577.—Mr James.

1581.—Richard Moody.

1583.—Henry Frogg.

1587.—John Matthew.

1593.—Mr Duckett.

1623.—Mr Brooke.

1629.—Mr Wheelock.

[This omission has been rectified in the edition of the *Graduati* issued by Dr Luard since these notes were written.]

for use. This was the foundation of our Hebrew library. Another small addition was made about twenty years later; they occupied one bookcase; and they are the solitary instance of a collection retaining its character as such, and remaining intact without any change of notation from that time to the present¹. The Pragi books are almost all uniformly bound, and many of them bear the thumb-marks of successive generations of Cambridge Hebraists, to whom these quaint red bindings and red lettered edges are many of them very familiar. It is, perhaps, owing to this vote of the Commons that Selden is mentioned in our Commemoration service as a benefactor to the library. A body so loyal to the Crown as the University shewed itself after the Restoration, was, of course, bound altogether to ignore any act of munificence displayed towards it by the Parliament during the Civil War; though they did not feel bound to disgorge all the good things they had become possessed of thereby. Certainly there are no traces of Selden's benefactions in any other form.

There is great difficulty in understanding how the different rooms were arranged at this time, owing to the fluctuation in the names given to the different parts. A grace was passed to allow the Greek school to be used for the Lambeth books. This must mean the upper room on the west side, or what we now call the second room, which did not become permanently part of the library till the reign of George the Second. It is possible that a great part of the library was put there, though the choicest books were certainly placed in Rotherham's library. Again, Sir John Wollaston is said (Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. 69) to have defrayed the cost of fittings for the reception of the Lambeth books; but these fittings are clearly the cases now existing in the first room, the original *communis libraria*. The new style of book-cases may have enabled the room to hold many more volumes than the old desks and stalls would; but there is no trace, in the marking of the books, of more than two rooms having been used, the first room and the east room.

¹ [Since the above was written, this class also has been broken up, and the books have been completely re-arranged, for greater convenience, in a different part of the Library.]

In 1649 Dr Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel, died, and left his whole library to the University; but as his will did not take effect till 1663, it will be more convenient to speak of it under that date. Numberless small benefactions poured in, both by gift and bequest, and are entered in the register. Wheelock died in 1653 and left some books; and William Moore of Caius, who died in 1659, carried on the good work of his predecessor. It was in his time, in 1658, that the remarkable collection of Waldensian books and papers were given to the library by Morland, Cromwell's envoy to the Duke of Savoy. His connection with Cromwell is probably the reason why his gift is so completely ignored in all our records and commemorations, while much more insignificant benefactors have been duly held up for veneration. The still more remarkable fact that for more than a century the librarians themselves uniformly denied the existence of the most important part of the collection, is well known, and is only one example in a thousand of the disregard of such treasures which the whole history of the library brings to light. Moore's memory, though no commonwealth sympathies could be a blot upon his character, has met with a curiously similar fate. Though a fellow of his College, a principal benefactor to its library, and well known to all the literary men of his time, his fellowship, his college, and even his degree are all ignored in the list of librarians in the printed *Graduati*, where he appears simply as "Gul. Moore." In the list of the large collection of manuscripts given to his own College, printed in the Oxford catalogue of 1697, he is misnamed John Moore; while in the modern catalogue of the Caius manuscripts, compiled by one who ought to have known better, his name is most unaccountably passed over altogether in silence.

VI.

1660—1715.

THE fruits of the thoroughly good management of the library during Wheelock's and Moore's tenure of office shewed

themselves very soon. In 1662 Archbishop Juxon put in a claim to have Bancroft's library returned to Lambeth; and the University readily took means to restore the collection to its rightful owner. It must have been a considerable blow to those interested in the welfare of the library to see twelve thousand volumes cleared out of the place, and the shelves left bare. But they were not destined to remain so long. It has been mentioned that Dr Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel College, died in 1649 and left his library to the University. There had been some dispute on the matter between the College and the University, and the books, which appear to have been in London, remained untouched until after the Restoration. In fact, the same chests and casks which took the Bancroft books back to Lambeth did double duty and brought the Holdsworth books down here. These last of themselves almost equalled in number the books whose places they came to fill; and when Mr Lucas died in 1664 and left¹ his own whole library to the University, amounting to more than four thousand volumes, the loss of the other collection was more than compensated, and the two new ones together made upwards of fifteen thousand volumes. Holdsworth's was very rich in divinity, especially in those early pamphlets of the Reformation period, so many of which our historians search for in vain elsewhere. The Lucas collection, formed by a cultivated layman, contained but few duplicates of the other, and enriched the library with history both English and foreign, and voyages and travels, besides a fair amount of foreign literature. This great increase, coming upon the library when it had been almost emptied of books, rendered it necessary to rearrange and recatalogue the whole; and, the east room or little library being kept for the manuscripts, the whole of the rest of the collection was incorporated into one and arranged

¹ It was said above that the only two bequests of libraries on record, were those of Holdsworth and Hacket. What led to the statement was an impression that Lucas gave his books in his lifetime. In any case, the argu-

ment only gains force, as the gift was no doubt the result of the good management and care for the library which was patent to every one. There is still no instance later than Hacket.

in the Old Library. This arrangement then made (about 1667) has existed till the present day; for though the books have since the end of last century been turned out of their shelves and stowed away anyhow on plain deal shelving put round the several rooms under the ceiling, yet the books have never been re-classed in those shelves, from a feeling probably that few reasonable persons could ever want to consult such superannuated literature.

The little library, however, was not to remain long an archive for manuscripts only. In 1666 Mr Rustat gave a sum of £1000 to the University to be laid out in land, so as to produce a certain income for providing the library with books. This was the first actual endowment of the library; and his munificence here has been as fruitful in its results as it has been elsewhere. Indeed it is more than sufficient to justify what is said of him on his monument in Jesus College Chapel, that the more he laid out in charity during the year, the more he had in hand at the close. The thousand pounds thus given two hundred years ago now produce almost as much annually; that is to say, between three and four hundred a year for the library, beside a house and comfortable income for a member of the Senate to enjoy in Norfolk. The latter arrangement may, perhaps, seem to some persons not in strict keeping with the intention of the donor, but where the University profits by the liberality of the gift, we have every reason to be grateful. Mr Rustat made a stipulation that the books bought with his money should be kept together for the use of students, and should not leave the library; and that a continued record of his donation should be preserved in a book for every one to see. The books were, perhaps, for a long time kept in the little library and in some measure together, though of this we have no definite record; but the method of keeping up the donor's memory in a visible form was too radically contrary to the habits of the University, and there is no sign of such a book ever having been thought of. In 1670 Bishop Hacket died and left his whole library to the University, with a request that the duplicates should be sold and other books procured with the money. This collection,

amounting to about a thousand volumes, was also placed in the little library, which for the next fifty years seems to have been the receptacle for all additions of whatever kind. So at least we are led to judge from the marks to be found in the books belonging to that period; but we have from this point no further records. The labour of cataloguing and arranging these three bequests must have taxed the energies of the librarians to the uttermost, and for eighty years there are hardly any records of work done now remaining. It is probable that a search through the accounts at the Registry would throw a good deal of light upon this period; but as yet this has never been done. It is the more strange that the library itself should be so bare of records during this time, as it was in some respects the most important in the history of the place.

For forty years we know of nothing worth mentioning. But in 1709 Mr Worts died and left his estate at Landbeach to the University, directing that the income should go to certain specified University purposes, and that any balance that there might be should be applied for the use of the library. This is the second endowment of the library; for it must be remembered that hitherto the only fund which the University had possessed for library purposes was the still slender income arising from Mr Rustat's gift in 1666. More than a century elapsed, however, before the Worts estate became practically available as an endowment of the library, or rather perhaps before it was remembered that the surplus ought to be devoted to this purpose; and the result is that, while the income from this source now amounts to about a thousand a year, a considerable portion of this is derived simply from the interest of unspent balances allowed to accumulate, because there was not sufficient literary life in the University to call for the proper appropriation of the money. It was only about fifty years ago that this fund became a regular source of income to the library.

But a very few years after the death of Mr Worts, another event happened, which had a much more speedy influence upon the library. It was in 1715 that George the First, it is said to have been at the suggestion of Lord Townshend, bought

and presented to the University the magnificent library of the Bishop of Ely, John Moore, who had died a few months before. This collection was in itself more than double the whole of the then existing University Library; and it was the means of altering the whole face of the University buildings. The old Senate House (now the catalogue room) and the adjoining school were to be given up to the library, so that all the four sides of the upper floor of the schools quadrangle should be appropriated to books; and the present Senate House was built in consequence. The King himself, and his successor, George the Second, and many others, came forward very liberally to supply the funds with which to carry on the great works rendered necessary by the King's gift of this magnificent library. A new office, that of principal librarian, was created, as became the dignity of the place, and all sorts of learned men were chartered to do the work necessary to render the books available for use as speedily as possible, but, from one cause or other, the work flagged, and it was upwards of five and thirty years before the new library was rendered ready for use; and during that time the pillage was so unlimited, that the only wonder is that we have any valuable books left. There are no inventories of Bishop Moore's library preserved, not even of the manuscripts, so that it is impossible to say what ought to be there and what treasures we might have had; but it is sufficiently disheartening to find traces of books which we happen to know were here during that period, but which are now irrecoverably lost.

VII.

1715—1853.

DURING the period just spoken of, between 1715 and 1750, when the library came to life again, there are certain donations which claim a more special mention at our hands. The Rev. George Lewis, Archdeacon of Meath, left a bookcase containing a small but valuable collection of Persian manuscripts, brought,

it is believed, from India. In the cabinet are several other eastern curiosities, which are faithfully preserved in much the same state as he left them. Fortunately a catalogue was printed at once, so that it has been possible from time to time to verify the contents. But there are no instructions to the librarian as to what may or may not be done with them, and the library contains no record¹ even of the year in which the collection came to the University.

In 1740, Baker died and left the University volumes 24 to 42 of his manuscript collections. It is needless here to say what a mine of information, especially on University subjects, these books contain; the incessant demand for them is the best testimony they can have; and now that Mr Mayor's loving care has produced a thoroughly good calendar of their contents, their usefulness has increased tenfold. Until quite lately these books never formed part of the MS. collection in the library. They were always kept apart and never included in any catalogue of the MSS. even when they were all rearranged in 1750. Possibly they were looked upon as too useful to be kept under lock and key.

When the Royal Library was arranged, the MSS. were left till the last, and the final settlement seems not to have taken place till 1752. The two rooms added to the library, the present catalogue room, and the present second room, were devoted to this collection, and the little square required to join the second room to the first was bought from King's College, and a small square room, with a dome over it, was built in between what had hitherto been the three end walls of the two University buildings and that of King's College. By this arrangement there was communication all round the square of the library floor.

Great care seems to have been taken with the arrangement of the printed books in the Royal Library, the common French system having been adopted: Theology, Law, Science and Arts, History, and Miscellaneous Literature. The one compartment

¹ [There is no written record; but a brass plate on the book-case itself gives 1726, as the date of the gift.

Dr Luard mentions that a grace for returning thanks to the donor was passed May 2, 1727.]

left over (viz. Dd, at the south end of the second room) and the square under the dome were allotted to the manuscripts. By this time the energies of those employed seem entirely to have failed; for nothing could be more disgraceful than the way the manuscripts were literally shovelled into their places. No regard was paid to subject, none to the collection from which they came, none even to the size of the volumes; they were all put upon the shelves just as they happened to have been brought into the room, and so stuffed away. When this was done, a catalogue was made which certainly does some credit to the compiler, though the Oriental manuscripts fared but badly; such descriptions as "Thin, perhaps Turkish," or "Liber mutilus," being allowed to pass without comment. Had there been any inventory received of Bishop Moore's books, or even made when they came, we should have been spared a good deal of the disgrace which has fallen upon us from persons outside our walls.

This, however, was a secondary consideration. The buildings were at this time more thought of than the books kept in them. The dignified appearance of the new Senate House made the University discontented with the humble appearance of Rotherham's building, which formed the east front of the schools; so in 1755 this was doomed, and a more suitable building, the present east room, was built on the site. It will be remembered that this room contained Hacket's Library, the books bought with the Rustat money, and all modern additions. The Copyright Act was not very fruitful at this time; small parcels apparently came down from Stationers' Hall twice a year, and the growth of the collection was very slow. This want of life re-acted upon the officials, and nothing is recorded during the rest of the eighteenth century, except the purchase of a number of manuscripts in 1785 at Dr Askew's sale, and an inspection of the library in 1772, at which a large number of rare books were reported to be missing. The latest previous inspection had been in 1748, when 902 volumes were reported as missing from the old library alone. Some few of these were no doubt sold at the "Sale of Duplicates from the Royal Library" in 1742; but the larger portion of them were certainly not duplicates, and the loss was the result of that whole-

sale pillage spoken of before. It is very singular that the very same year that the inspection shewed such serious losses to have happened from unrestricted access, the University should have made fresh orders (the basis of those now in use), permitting more fully this same freedom of access. The *Cicero de Officiis* printed in 1465 on vellum, a Salisbury Breviary printed in 1483 on vellum (the only known copy of the first edition), the Salisbury *Directorium Sacerdotum* printed by Caxton (the only known copy), are three instances out of many scores of such books which might be mentioned as purloined during the latter half of the eighteenth century, simply from this total disregard of all care for the preservation of the books. Even manuscripts were lent out on ordinary tickets; and it was seemingly only owing to the strong remonstrances of Mr Kerrich, the Principal Librarian of the day, that a grace was passed in 1809, requiring that no manuscript whatever should be borrowed, except with the permission of the Senate, and on a bond given for the same to the Librarian. "We have the ticket, but we cannot get the book back," Mr Kerrich says, and to this day the book in question has never been returned.

It is needless and it is difficult to say much of the history of the library during the past fifty years. About fifty years ago the Copyright Act began to take effect, and a much larger and gradually increasing quantity of books has been yearly added to the library. About that time the Worts Trustees awoke to the responsibilities of their trust, and the want of space became so pressing in consequence of this renewed activity that steps were soon taken to secure additional room. The old quadrangle of King's College was bought for twelve thousand pounds, as soon as the college had ceased to use the building, in 1829; and since 1826 a tax of eighteenpence a quarter had been levied upon members of the University for the further support of the library. What was really needed was an organising head to direct and give a unity to all these movements for increase, and to turn the additional room to a proper account when granted by the University. It is the want of this which has rendered the library that chaos which is so often and so justly complained of, and which it will require

stronger hands than the University is likely to have for some time in any way to remedy satisfactorily. A little more than thirty years ago a grand plan was conceived of erecting a large quadrangle on the site of the old buildings. One side was really built, what is now known as Cockerell's building; but instead of mapping out the building for various definite classes of books, the spare room was seized at once, one of the rooms temporarily emptied into this, and the emptied room at once employed to hold the Fitzwilliam Collection. This want of organisation had the effect of destroying any arrangements that might have been contemplated for both of the rooms in question.

Soon after this, in 1853, the Syndicate was re constituted on a new basis; instead of consisting of all the officials of the University, it was to consist of sixteen picked men, distinguished and active in different branches of literature, who might be a material assistance in directing the choice of books to be added to the library, and in giving advice and directions as to the general administration of the place. The idea was excellent; the fresh activity of the new body was considerable; the only misfortune was that it was new wine put into old bottles. No care at all was taken to increase the strength of the real executive of the library; and for many years this fermentation only resulted in a constant fluctuation of places made and unmade, and orders made and unmade or else left to lie neglected in the records of the proceedings of the Syndicate. It must be many years before the evils of this state of things can be got rid of from the place, with much greater energy and organising power than the University now has at its disposal. Let us only hope that the undoubtedly good elements in the new constitution will bear fruit more effectually than the bad; and that the larger the library grows, the larger may be the circle of those who find it an indispensable and at the same time an increasingly available source of supply for their literary needs.

HENRY BRADSHAW.

XI. A CLASSIFIED INDEX OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS IN THE DE MEYER COLLECTION SOLD AT GHENT, NOVEMBER 1869¹.

IT very rarely happens that a sale catalogue is drawn up with such care and knowledge as regards early printed books as to render the formation of such an index as the present in any way possible, unless after a careful verification by the books themselves. Indeed Ghent is almost the only place where there seems to be any attempt to give the attention to this subject which nevertheless is rendered all the more necessary from the very high prices which almost any good specimens of early printing are sure to bring. The auction catalogues issued by the first houses in England and France are a standing disgrace to the two countries so far as this class of books is concerned; and yet there are no signs of any change for the better.

The present index was drawn up at first simply for my own convenience. It is now at the service of any persons who take an interest in the subject. Having been for some time specially occupied with the early typography of Holland and Belgium, the sale of a library, like that of the late M. De Meyer, containing a number of extremely interesting specimens of books of this class, was sufficient inducement to me to print a brief index to the fifteenth-century books in the catalogue, before going over to Ghent for the purpose of verifying the results of the work. It will be seen at once that, owing to the liberality of our Cambridge authorities combined with the discretion of my old and valued friend Mr Boone, to whom I entrusted my commissions, our museum of early printing at Cambridge has obtained from this collection some additions which are well worth possessing.

¹ Published as Memorandum No. 2, April, 1870.

The books are arranged strictly according to their respective countries, towns, and presses; and, the year of the earliest dated production of each country, town, or press, being affixed, it is hoped that the arrangement will at once afford its own explanation. The numbers prefixed to each title are the numbers in the sale catalogue; and a cross list is given containing the corresponding numbers of the sale catalogue and of this index. Where we have a copy of the book in our museum of early printing in the University Library at Cambridge, I have said so. Where a book is described in Mr Holtrop's *Catalogus* of the fifteenth-century books in the Royal Library at the Hague (Hagae Comitum, 1856, 8vo.), I have given the reference (BRH). Where there is a facsimile of any book to be seen in the same writer's *Monumens Typographiques des Pays-Bas* (La Haye, 1868, 4to.), I have referred to the plate (MT); only it must be remembered that reference has been made to the final order of the plates, and not to that in which they were issued. Such constant reference is made to these two books, that this index will be of little use to any one who does not possess them both. In the case of books printed by Gerard Leeu at Gouda or at Antwerp, I have given the reference to Mr P. Van der Meersch's list published in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge* for 1847 (VDM). For books printed, or supposed to have been printed, by Thierry Martens, I have referred to Mr A. F. Van Iseghem's *Biographie* (VI). And, lastly, in the case of the few books found here, printed at Audenarde or Ghent, I have referred to Mr Ferd. Vanderhaeghen's exhaustive *Bibliographie Gantoise* (VDH).

There are a few points in which I have taken leave to differ from the accomplished scholar to whom the compilation of the sale catalogue was entrusted. In consequence of this, I have thought it worth while to append a few notes, partly to justify what may well seem to be presumption on my part, and partly from an earnest desire to stir up those who are willing to study such subjects to a further prosecution of them upon a sounder basis than has hitherto been attempted, and to shew that if only a rational method of pursuing such researches be once adopted, results may be expected which will fully compensate for the long and patient work by which alone they can be obtained.

I little thought, when these pages were sent to the press, that death would deprive me of one of the greatest pleasures which I anticipated from printing them. It is not for me to speak of that

combination of gentleness and modesty with deep research, which characterised everything which came from Mr Holtrop's pen, so far as I ever had the privilege of knowing him. Those who knew him while he lived will readily understand the keen pleasure with which I looked forward to bringing him this year the firstfruits of my attempts to follow in his footsteps, and to becoming personally acquainted with one whom I had so long known only by correspondence. My desire in these studies was to be a willing pupil of his; my pleasure, to prove to him that his work was the solid foundation on which others could stand to pursue the same enquiries to still further and clearer results.

H. B.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE,
April 5, 1870.

A CLASSIFIED INDEX
OF THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS
in the De Meyer collection.

GERMANY (1454).

COLOGNE (1466).

Ulr Zell (1466):

- 110^{ab} Joh. Nider, Manuale confessorum et Dispositorium moriendi.
Ab. 1470. 4°. [1]
At Cambridge (this copy).

- 229 Adriani Carthus. Liber de remediis utriusque fortunae. Ab.
1470. 4°. [2]
At Cambridge.

- 5 Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica. Ab. 1473. Folio. [3]
At Cambridge (this copy).

Arn ter Hoernen (1470):

- 110^c Formula vivendi canonicorum. Ab. 1472. 4°. [4]
At Cambridge (this copy). Certainly not so late as 1477.

Printer of the Dialogi decem (1473):

- 93 Flores B. Augustini. Ab. 1473. Folio. [5]
At Cambridge. Not printed by Veldener. See Note A.

Conr Winters de Homborch (1476):

- 490 Fasciculus temporum. 1476. Large folio. [6]
At Cambridge (this copy).

- 123 Joh. Nider, Sermones totius anni. Ult. Aug. 1480. Folio. [7]
At Cambridge (this copy).

Unknown Printer:

- 32 Guil. de Gouda Tractatus de expositione missae. 4°. [8]
At Cambridge (this copy). Certainly not printed at Deventer.

BASLE (1468).

Leonh Ysenhut (1489):

- 27 Walfart oder bylgrung der seligen Jungfrowen Marie. 1489. 8°. [9
 At Cambridge (this copy) Leaf 1, wanting in this copy, is not blank, but contains the title, &c. See Hain 9327.

UNKNOWN PLACE (? NUREMBERG).

Unknown Printer:

- 73^b Horologium devotionis. 8°. [10
 See below, n° 13.
 73^c De vita et beneficiis J. C. 8°. [11
 See below, n° 13.
 73^d Ger de Zutphania, Tractatus de spiritualibus ascensionibus. 8°. [12
 See below, n° 13.

UNKNOWN PLACE (? in ALSACE).

Unknown Printer:

- 73^a Horae secundum usum ecclesiae Romanae. 8°. [13
 This volume is now in the library of the Duc d' Arenberg.

ITALY (1465).

ROME (1467).

Fran de Cinquinis (1479):

- 109 Antonini archiep. Florentini Summula confessionis. 4°. [14
 At Cambridge (this copy).

VENICE (1469).

Vindel de Spira (1470):

- 472 Fran Philelphi Epistolae. Ab. 1472. Folio. [15
 At Cambridge (this copy).

Erh Ratdolt de Augusta (1478):

- 349 Fran Mataratius de componendis versibus. 7 Cal. Dec. 1468 (i.e. 1478). 4°. [16

FRANCE (1470).

PARIS (1470).

Pet Caesaris and Joh Stoll (1473):

- 534 Valerius Maximus. 1475. Folio. [17
At Cambridge (this copy).

Guido Mercator (1483):

- 120 S. Bonaventurae Sermones de morte. 1494. 4°. [18

LYONS (1473).

Joh Schuab alias Cleyn ()::

- 124 S. Vincentii Sermones de tempore, de oratione dominica, &c.
1499. 2 vols. 4°. [19
Hain *7013.

HOLLAND (1471—73).

UTRECHT (1473).

Joh Veldener, late of Louvain (1478):

- 17 Epistelen en Ewangelien. 30 Jul. 1479. Ed. A. 4°. [20
BRH 50. MT 39. At Cambridge (this copy).
491 Fasciculus temporum. 14 Feb. 1480. Folio. [21
BRH 51. MT 39, 40. At Cambridge.

Gl (1479):

- 145^a Otten van Passau, Boeck des gulden throens. 30 Mar. 1480.
Folio. [22
BRH 46. MT 42, 43, 44. At Cambridge.

DEVENTER (1477).

Ric Paffroed de Colonia (1477), before 1486:

- 100 Speculum exemplorum. 2 Mai. 1481. Folio. [23
BRH 266. At Cambridge (this copy).
90 S. Augustini Confessiones. 1483. 4°. [24
BRH 269. MT 64. At Cambridge (this copy).

Ric Paffroed de Colonia, after 1487:

- 31^a Guil de Gouda, Tractatus de expositione missae. 20 Feb. 1490.
4°. [25
BRH 286. At Cambridge (this copy).

- 31^b Colloquium peccatoris et crucifixi &c. 18 Nov. 1491. 4°. [26
BRH 294. At Cambridge (this copy).

Jac de Breda (1486):

- 21 Guillermi Postilla super Epistolas et Evangelia. 21 Jul. 1491.
4°. [27

Not in BRH.

- 348 Maphei Vegii Vita Divi Antonii. Ab. 1491. 4°. [28
BRH 355. At Cambridge.

- 99 Quatuor novissima. 6 Dec. 1494. 4°. [29
BRH 370. At Cambridge (this copy).

- 101^b Stella clericorum. 17 Jan. 1498. 4°. [30
BRH 387. At Cambridge (this copy).

- 327 Gemma vocabulorum. 30 Mar. 1498. 4°. [31
BRH 388. At Cambridge (this copy).

GOUDA (1477).

Ger Leeu (1477):

- 509 Passionael, somerstuc. 1 Apr. 1480. Folio. [32
BRH 412, vol. 2. MT 68. VDM 18. At Cambridge (this copy).

- 507 S. Hieronymus, Vaderboeck. 3 Dec. 1480. Folio. [33
BRH 416. VDM 22. At Cambridge (this copy).

- 101^a S. Bonaventurae Soliloquium. Early in 1484. 4°. [34
BRH 169. Not in VDM, VI 13, but unquestionably not by Th.
Martens. At Cambridge (this copy). See Note B.

Printer of the Teghen die strael der minnen (1484):

- 19 Epistelen en Evangelien. 23 Jun. 1484. 4°. [35
Not in BRH. VDM 42 (this copy). At Cambridge (this copy). See
Note C.

DELFT (1477).

*Jac Jacobszoen van der Meer and Maur Yemantszoen van Mid-
delborch* (1477):

- 3 Bible in duytsche. 10 Jan. 1477. 5 Parts, Folio. [36
BRH 425. MT 81. At Cambridge.

- 107 Summe le roy. 24 Apr. 1478. 4°. [37
BRH 427. MT 81. At Cambridge (this copy).

Jac Jacobszoen vander Meer (1480):

- 10 Die duytsche Souter. 12 Feb. 1480. 8°. [38
BRH 429. MT 82. At Cambridge (this copy).

- 18 Epistelen en Ewangelien. 1481. 4°. [39
BRH 433. - MT 82.
- 20 Epistelen en Ewangelien. 1484. 4°. [40
Not in BRH.

Chr Snellaert (1488):

- 101^d Formula vivendi canonicorum. Apr. 1496. 4°. [41
BRH 474. At Cambridge (this copy). There is a slight mistake here in the sale catalogue. What is marked 101^d is really the *Quatuor novissima* printed at Deventer by Jac. de Breda in 1502 followed by the *Formula vivendi canonicorum* printed at Delft by Ch. Snellaert in April 1496.

Hen Eckert van Homberch (1498):

- 508 S. Hieronymus, Vaderboek. 1498. Folio. [42
BRH 464. At Cambridge (this copy).

ZWOLLE (1479).

Pet van Os (1479):

- 121 S. Bonaventurae Sermones. 1479. Folio. [43
BRH 479. MT 89. At Cambridge. See Note D.
- 94 S. Bernaerd Sermonen, Winterstuc. 24 Dec. 1484. Folio. [44
BRH 487, vol. 1. At Cambridge (this copy).
- 146 Der Bien boeck. 15 Jan. 1488. Folio. [45
BRH 492. At Cambridge (this copy).
- 438 Esopus grecus per Laur Vallam translatus. Ab. 1495. 4°. [46
BRH 486. At Cambridge (this copy). Not by Ger Leeu. See Note D.
- 26 Ludolphus, Leven ons heeren J. C. 15 Mar. 1499. Folio. [47
BRH 506. At Cambridge.

HAARLEM (1483).

Jac Bellaert (1483):

- 106 Summe le roy of des conincs summe. 31 Mai. 1484. 4°. [48
BRH 14. At Cambridge.
- 957 Bartholomeus Engelsman, Boeck van den proprieteijten der dinghen. 24 Dec. 1485. Folio. [49
BRH 18. MT 35. At Cambridge.

BELGIUM (1473).

ALOST (1473).

Th Martens (2^d Press, 1487):

- 115 Horologium aeternae sapientiae. Ab. 1486-7. 4°. [50
BRH 57. VI 20. At Cambridge.

214	FIFTEENTH CENTURY BOOKS	[XI]
116	Another copy.	[51]
255	Juliani Pomerii Praenosticata. Ab. 1486-7. 4°.	[52]
	Not in BRH. VI 18. At Cambridge.	
210	Formula vivendi canonicorum. 4°.	[53]
	Not in BRH. VI 17. At Cambridge (this copy).	
138	Pectorale dominicae passionis. 4°.	[54]
	BRH 144. VI 15. At Cambridge (this copy).	
122	Sermones super <i>Salve regina</i> . 9 Jul. 1487. 4°.	[55]
	BRH 59. VI 24. At Cambridge.	
114	Angeli de Clavasio Summa Angelica de casibus conscientiae.	
	4 Jul. 1490. Folio.	[56]
	BRH 60. MT 46. VI 27. At Cambridge.	

LOUVAIN (1474).

Joh de Westfalia, late of Alost (1474):

237	Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum. Ab. 1480. 4°.	[57]
	Not in BRH, not 586. At Cambridge (this copy).	
217	Antidotarius animae. Ab. 1483-4. Folio.	[58]
	BRH 113. At Cambridge.	

Joh Veldener, late of Kuilenburg (1484-85):

137	Alphabetum divini amoris. 8°.	[59]
	BRH 590. MT 47. At Cambridge (this copy). See Note E.	
234	Herbarius. Ab. 1484-85. Ed. A. 4°.	[60]
	Not in BRH, not 539. At Cambridge (this copy). See Note E.	

Egid van der Heerstraten (1486):

8	Joh Beetz super decem praeceptis decalogi. 19 Apr. 1486.	
	Ed. A. Folio.	[61]
	BRH 137. MT 55. At Cambridge (this copy).	

Lud de Ravescot (1488):

103	Petri de Rivo Opus responsivum, 1488. (1488.) Folio.	[62]
	BRH 132. MT 57, 58. At Cambridge.	

BRUSSELS (1476).

Fratres communis vitae (1476):

172	Aegidii Carlerii Sporta fragmentorum, 1478; et Sportula fragmentorum, 1479. Folio.	[63]
	BRH 242.	
22	Joh de S. Laurentio Postillae Evangeliorum. 4 Non. Oct. 1480. Folio.	[64]
	BRH 245. At Cambridge.	

- 95 Petri Blesensis Epistolae. Ab. 1480. Folio. [65
BRH 250. At Cambridge (this copy).
118 S. Bernardi Sermones. In profesto Pentecostes 1481. Folio. [66
BRH 252. At Cambridge (this copy).

AUDENARDE (1480).

Arn Caesaris (1480):

- 125 Hermanni de Petra de Scutdorpe Sermones. 1480. Folio. [67
BRH 515. MT 95. VDH p. 8.

ANTWERP (1482).

Matth van der Goes (1482):

- 102 Stella clericorum. Ab. 1486. 4°. [68
Not in BRH, not 157. At Cambridge (this copy).
238 Kanuti Regimen contra pestilentiam. Ab. 1486. 4°. [69
Not in BRH.
230 Alberti magni Liber secretorum, etc. Ab. 1486-87. 4°. [70
BRH 160. At Cambridge (this copy).
133 De imitatione Christi. Ab. 1486-87. 4°. [71
BRH 162.

Ger Leeu, late of Gouda (1484):

- 334 Albertanus Causidicus Brixienensis de arte loquendi et tacendi.
Jun. 1485. 4°. [72
Not in BRH. VDM 55.
328 Gemmula vocabulorum. 23 Aug. 1486. 4°. [73
BRH 173. ? VDM 66.
173 R. Samuelis Redargutio contra Judaeorum errores. 15 Kal.
Nov. 1486. 4°. [74
BRH 595. VDM 65. At Cambridge (this copy).
24 Ludolphus, Leven ons heren J. C. 3 Nov. 1487. Folio. [75
BRH 178. MT 98, 106. VDM 77. At Cambridge.
169 Van de gheestelike kintscheyt ihesu ghemoraliseert. 16 Feb.
1488. 8°. [76
BRH 182. VDM 84. At Cambridge (this copy).
216 Auctoritates Aristotelis, &c. 1 Jul. 1488. 4°. [77
Not in BRH. VDM 90.
145^b (Fragment of a leaf of) Historie van Grisildis. Ab. 1487.
4°. [78
Not in BRH. Not in VDM.

- 218 Albertus Magnus de virtutibus animae. 14 Mar. 1489. 4°. [79
BRH 189. VDM 99. At Cambridge.
- 437 Dialogus creaturarum. 14 Apr. 1491. 4°. [80
BRH 197. VDM 112. At Cambridge (this copy).
- 516^b Die historie, ghetiden en exempelen van sint Annen. Ab. 1492.
8°. [81
Not in BRH. VDM 115 or 142? At Cambridge (this copy). Not
printed by the Collacie Broeders at Gouda. See Note F.

Claes Leeu (1487):

- 25 Ludolphus, Leven ons heeren J. C. anderwerven gheprint. 20
Nov. 1488. Folio. [82
BRH 211. MT 106. At Cambridge (this copy).

Th Martens, late of Alost (1493):

- 98 Mich Francisci de Insulis Quodlibetica decisio. 1496. Ed. A.
4°. *Pr. on vellum.* [83
BRH 146. VI 31. At Cambridge (on paper). See Note G.

Adr van Liesvelt (1494):

- 517 Die historie, ghetiden en exempelen van sint Annen. 1 Sept.
1496. 8°. [84
BRH 226. At Cambridge (this copy).

GHENT (1483).

Arn Caesaris, late of Audenarde (1483):

- 143 Guillermi Alverni Rhetorica divina. 11 Kal. Sept. 1483. 4°. [85
BRH 535. MT 113. VDH 1.
- 215 Boecius, Vijf bouken de consolacione philosophie. 3 Mai. 1485.
Large folio. [86
BRH 536 or 641. MT 113, 114. VDH 3. At Cambridge.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

THE PRINTER OF THE *Flores B. Augustini*.

I CAN see no ground for attributing this to Veldener's press. This and the *Dialogi decem variorum auctorum* which is dated 1473, are clearly from the same press, and Mr Holtrop seems to have attributed them to Veldener's Cologne press, on the authority of Dr Kloss and others; see BRH. Part 2, Nos. 118, 119. In the *Monumens Typographiques*, having ascertained from Mr Van Even's researches, that Veldener matriculated at Louvain in 1473, Mr Holtrop gives facsimiles of these two works as the earliest specimens of Veldener's Louvain press. But the type is not at all identical with that of the *Consolatio peccatorum* which has the letter to Veldener (dated 7 August 1474) prefixed, and which may be looked upon as the earliest known production of his press at Louvain or anywhere. It is very evident that Veldener had some typographical relations with Arnold ter Hoernen, Nic. Goetz of Sletzstat, and perhaps other Cologne printers, but until all these little known Cologne books have been really studied with method, it is very unsafe to attribute this or that book to any particular printer, unless in the case of absolute identity of type with some acknowledged production of the printer to whom it is attributed. Had there been any acknowledged production of Veldener's in precisely this type known to exist, Mr Holtrop would without fail have given us a facsimile of it in his *Monumens*.

NOTE B.

THE PRINTER OF THE *S. Bonaventurae Soliloquium*.

Mr Holtrop has conclusively shewn in his *Etude bibliographique* concerning Thierry Martens, that the group of books of which the present volume is one were not printed by Thierry Martens at all, but by Gerard Leeu, with the type first used by him at Gouda at the close of 1483, and transferred with his other stock to Antwerp in the summer of 1484. It becomes then necessary to enquire what points may be taken as characteristics by which we may distinguish

Leeu's Antwerp and Gouda books from each other. In the *Catalogus* Mr Holtrop dates the present volume c. 1485—86; but I do not see on what grounds. I can find none of Leeu's Antwerp books (from September 1484 onwards) with a blank leaf at the beginning instead of a title-page; while in all his Gouda books I can find none that have any trace of a title-page except the exceptional volume *Van Marien rosen cransken* (BRH. 420). On this ground I do not hesitate to class all the dateless books in this type, with blank title-pages, 33 lines to a page, and with signatures printed to the sheet, not to the leaf, (a 1, a 3, b 1, b 3 etc.) as printed by Ger. Leeu at Gouda during the first half of 1484.

NOTE C.

THE PRINTER OF THE *Teghen die strael der minnen*.

When at Ghent on the day before the sale began, I omitted to examine this volume as carefully as I had intended to do. But when Mr Boone succeeded in rescuing the volume for me from the hands of a Paris bookseller who had bought it at the sale, and it came into my possession, my surprise was only equalled by the pleasure of the unexpected discovery which followed. I had been anxious to get the book because, believing it to be Gerard Leeu's, I knew that his latest known book printed at Gouda was dated 19 June 1484, while his earliest Antwerp book was dated 18 September 1484; and any Gouda book even a few days later than his latest *known* book would be a satisfactory acquisition. However on examining the type, it was clearly not Leeu's at all, and at first it seemed quite strange to me, until after a few minutes it occurred to me to compare it with Mr Holtrop's facsimile of one of his few remaining unsolved difficulties, a volume called *Teghen die strael der minnen*, of which he says that the idiom shews it to have been printed in Holland rather than in Belgium, while the type is unlike any that he has seen elsewhere. Examination shewed that the type of the two books was identical, and the printer's habits (punctuation, mode of printing signatures, etc.) were also the same in both. Accordingly, as the type may be easily recognised by any one from Mr Holtrop's facsimile published in his *Monumens Typographiques*, I call the printer until further information is found, the *Printer of the "Teghen die strael der minnen."*

But the existence of the present volume has a further interest.

Until a few years ago it was only known that Gerard Leeu printed at Gouda from 1477 till the summer of 1484, and that the *Fratres Collationum* printed there from 1496 onwards; and further that there was preserved in the library at Lübeck a dateless book (which however bore marks of being a production of the xvth century) printed at Gouda by one Govaert van Ghemen. One or two school-books were set down in the catalogues with the date Gouda 1486 etc., but they were not forthcoming, and modern bibliographers had come to deny their very existence. A few years ago I communicated to Mr Holtrop the fact that our library at Cambridge possessed a book entitled "*Opusculum quintupertitum grammaticale*," printed in two sizes of type, with woodcut initials, and with a full imprint, shewing the book to have been printed at Gouda by Gotfridus de Os 13 November 1486. Very soon afterwards Mr Holtrop discovered an imperfect copy of the same book at Cologne, and this at once enabled him to attribute several until then unclaimed books to the same printer, from the identity of the types. The number has been since increased, and now includes several productions of a remarkable nature, volumes of poetry and romances full of spirited woodcuts, all tending to place Gotfridus de Os or Govaert van Ghemen (for there can be little doubt of their identity) in the first rank of master printers. From the great variety of types which it is necessary to attribute to him, I have but little doubt that the *Teghen die strael der minnen* and our *Epistelen en Evangelien* are also from his press, though I cannot as yet place them under his name, because I cannot yet point to any type, initial-letter, or woodcut, which is common to both sets of books.

The most interesting point at present is that the fact of the volume of *Epistelen en Evangelien* being dated 23 June 1484, proves conclusively that this printer did not succeed Gerard Leeu at Gouda on the removal of the latter to Antwerp, but that he must have had a press at work at Gouda before Leeu left. The woodcuts are those which belonged to Leeu, but this only shews the friendly relations which existed between the two printers, and Leeu must still have been residing at Gouda when this book was finished.

There is another point too, which has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed, which may lead us to believe that Gotfr. de Os was in Gouda in 1484. Two of the books from his press bear the remarkable device of an elephant and castle with the arms of Gouda and the letters G. D. The woodcuts are different in the two books,

but the device is practically the same in both¹. Mr Holtrop has brought to light an interesting passage from the *Chronicle of Holland*, shewing that an elephant was led about through several towns in Holland in the year 1484 to the no small gain of its owners. Mr Holtrop adduces this fact merely to shew why the elephants in our printer's device and in the Haarlem *Bartholomeus* printed in 1485 are so much more like real elephants than that in the *Dialogus creaturarum* of 1480 (also printed at Gouda) and the still earlier woodcuts of the *Speculum humane salvationis*. But it seems to me quite possible that if Govaert van Ghemen was printing in Gouda in 1484, he may have been struck with the *howdah* on the elephant's back and the identity of the word in sound with the name of the town, and so may from this cause have been led to adopt the elephant and castle as his device. But no doubt, if the subject is pursued in Holland with anything like the zeal and discernment of the present authorities at the Hague, other books will some day be found, which will afford a solution of most of these difficulties.

There is a special reason which I must mention, why the history of this press should have a particular interest to one engaged in forming a museum of early printing in an English library. It has not, I believe, been ever noticed that part of the printing materials of Govaert van Ghemen passed over to England about the time that he seems to have removed to Copenhagen. Caxton died in 1491 and was succeeded in his business by Wynkyn de Worde (Wijnand or Wijnkijn van Woerden); and some of the large type, the woodcut of the master and scholars, and many of the woodcut initials used by Govaert van Ghemen (all figured in the *Monumens Typographiques*) are to be seen in many of W. de Worde's early books; indeed the woodcut initials are what specially serve at once to distinguish W. de Worde's earliest from Caxton's latest books.

NOTE D.

PRINTING AT ZWOLLE.

Scant justice has been rendered to Zwolle in the *Monumens*

¹ It is in what looks to an uneducated eye like stones on the ground in one of these, that the practised eye of Mr J. H. Hessels has detected the words *G. v. Os*. It is to be hoped that Mr Hessels' minute researches

into the *incunabula typographica* of his country will some day be published. They cannot fail to throw some fresh light on the vexed question of the origin of printing.

Typographiques; and the whole article needs re-writing, and the account of the types used at the press there re-stated with greater accuracy and somewhat more research. Known to be a very early seat of the engraver's art, and to be the place where the blocks of the original *Biblia pauperum* re-appear on the revival of wood-engraving in Holland, and so not at all impossibly the very place at which this the earliest of the block-books was produced, Zwolle deserves to have its typographical history studied with more care. The method of arranging these early books under the countries, towns and presses at which they were produced is the only one which can really advance our knowledge of the subject. This is comparatively easy with dated books, though there is no safeguard against the misleading nature of an erroneous date. But the study is of little use unless the bibliographer will be content to make such an accurate and methodical study of the types used and habits of printing observable at different presses, as to enable him to observe and be guided by these characteristics in settling the date of a book which bears no date on the surface. We do not want the *opinion* or *dictum* of any bibliographer however experienced; we desire that the types and habits of each printer should be made a special subject of study, and those points brought forward which shew changes or advance from year to year, or, where practicable, from month to month. When this is done, we have to say of any dateless or falsely dated book that it contains such and such characteristics, and we therefore place it at such a point of time, the time we name being merely another expression for the characteristics we notice in the book. In fact each press must be looked upon as a *genus*, and each book as a *species*, and our business is to trace the more or less close connexion of the different members of the family according to the characters which they present to our observation. The study of palaeotypography has been hitherto mainly such a *dilettante* matter, that people have shrunk from going into such details, though when once studied as a branch of natural history, it is as fruitful in interesting results as most subjects. The Librarians at the Hague have done very good service, and the *Catalogus* of 1856 is far the most valuable contribution to this class of literature which we have, so far as extent is concerned; but they are apparently still very far from recognising the *natural history* method, if I may so call it, as the only one which can be productive of really valuable results. It is because the case of Zwolle is a good illustration of what I mean,

that I have written these remarks as introductory to a specimen of the kind of classification which I wish to see adopted. If I say anything which may seem to disparage the labours of Mr Holtrop and Mr Campbell, they will know that I do not undervalue them, seeing that except Mr Blades's monograph of Caxton's press, the Hague *Catalogus* and *Monumens Typographiques* are the only books existing in any literature, so far as I know, which render the study of palaeotypography in any way possible upon a proper basis. Germany, Italy, France and Spain are at present perfectly impracticable fields of work, and are I fear likely to remain so for some time to come.

The following sketch is an extract from an analysis of the *Monumens Typographiques des Pays-Bas* so far as it relates to Zwolle. Having subscribed for two copies of the work, I cut up one of them into the whole number of separate facsimiles of which the book was composed; and then with these materials and the examination of actual books, wherever they came within my reach, and with the aid, in the case of a few presses, of correspondence with Mr Holtrop, the way became clearer towards grouping the several books according to their types. At Zwolle eleven different founts of type occur between 1479 and 1500; and these enable us to mark four clear groups of books easily distinguished, while on more minute grounds they are separable into twelve classes. Of the four groups the first consists of books printed in types peculiar to the place, types of four different sizes (nos. 1 to 4), but with a strong family likeness to each other (1479—1483). In the second group (1484—1492) the predominant type (no. 5) is that used at Gouda by Gerard Leeu from 1477 to 1482, and from that point discontinued by him. The chief type (no. 8) in the third group (1493 to 1497—8) is very like the large type taken by Gerard Leeu from Gouda to Antwerp in 1484, and is something between that and the type used at Gouda by Govaert van Ghemen, and after him by the Deventer printers. The fourth group (1497—8 to 1500) is distinguished by the type (no. 11) known by the name of Henrick die Lettersnider. The twelve classes I have distinguished as A to M, and the characteristics which I have taken sufficiently indicate the meaning of the groups. One mistake in the imprint of the *Psalterium*, a mistake which is constantly occurring, has caused a great deal of confusion; and from the date being read 6 Nov. 1480 instead of — Nov. 1486, the whole history of the types has

been obscured. It ought to have been observed that the book has a printed title-page, which first occurs late in 1484; that it has a device which only came in in 1484; that the type is that discontinued by Gerard Leeu after 1482; and the woodcut of Christ under the press is a *copy* from one of Gerard Leeu's set of 66 cuts which make their first appearance in 1482; so that it could not have been printed in 1480. Put this book to its right place, and anyone can see that Types 1, 2, 3, and 4, though differing in size, are palpably cut by the same artist; indeed, some of the letters are almost identical. Therefore as the name of Peter van Os occurs in connexion with Types 3 and 4, I feel at liberty to class them all under his name. When the lost productions of Joh. de Vollenhoe are found it will be time enough to investigate the nature of the types used by him. About the latest books, I have but few materials to work upon, as we have only two books at Cambridge later than 1495. I can find no trace of the old two devices being used after 1495, while in the *Bartholomei Coloniensis Canones* of 1500 the so-called device of Tyman van Os is used with the name however of Peter van Os (*Petrus Ossensis*). From my classification it will be seen that there are no types at this period proper to Tyman van Os, nor any book with his name that can fairly be included in the xvth century; so, except the one which bears his name, I have attributed them to the father. But there will be other occasions of going more deeply into this question than is suitable at the present moment.

ZWOLLE (1479).

? *Joh. de Vollenhoe* (1479).

Mentioned by Prosper Marchand as the printer of an edition of *Petri Hispani Tractatus* in 1479, but no copy is now known to exist, nor any other productions of his press.

Peter van Os of Breda (1479).

Class A. Types 1, 2; no printed signatures; no device; no title-page. 1479.

1. S. Bonaventurae Sermones.

With place, no printer's name, 1479. Folio.

MT. 89c: Text and imprint, Type 2.

2. *Vocabularius 'Ex quo.'*
With place, no printer's name, Dec. 1479. 4to.
MT. 88b: Text and imprint, Type 1.
3. *S. Bonaventurae Centiloquium.*
With place, no printer's name, no year (1479). 4to.
MT. 89a: Imprint, Type 2.
4. *Modus confitendi.*
No place, no printer's name, no year (1479). 4to.
MT. 88a: Text, Type 1.
5. *Theod. de Hercksen Speculum juvenum.*
No place, no printer's name, no year (1479). 4to.
MT. 89b: Text, Type 2.

Class B. Type 2; printed signatures; no device; no title-page. 1480.

6. *Fr. Hugonis de Prato Sermones dominicales.*
With place, no printer's name, 1480. Folio.
MT. 89d: Imprint, Type 2.

Class C. Types 3, 4; printed signatures; no device; no title-page. (? 1481-1483).

7. *Caroli Viruli Epistolae quas Correctoria vocant.*
With place, with printer's name, no year (? 1481-1483). 4to.
MT. 90d: Text and imprint, Type 3.
8. *Joh. de Garlandia Cornutus etc.*
No place, no printer's name, no year (? 1481-1483). 4to.
MT. 90e: Text, Type 3; Commentary, Type 4.

Class D. Type 5; printed signatures; devices 1, 2^a; no title-page. Early in 1484.

9. *Die gestalten van Romen.*
With place, with printer's name, May 1484. Folio.
MT. 92a: Device 2^a.

Class E. Type 5; printed signatures; devices 1, 2^a; printed title-page. Late in 1484.

BRH. 487, vol. 1, *S. Bernardus Sermonen*, Winterstuck (printed 24 Dec. 1484), has all these characteristics, but no facsimile is given.

Class F. Type 5; printed signatures; devices 1, 2^b; printed title-page. 1485-1489.

10. *Der sielen troest.*
With place, with printer's name, 21 July 1485. Folio.

MT. 93a: woodcut (but this cut is borrowed from the *Gesten van Rome*, and, as such, is the cut formerly belonging to Ger. Leeu at Gouda, and used by him in his edition of that work).

MT. 92b: Device 2^b.

11. Psalterium; Augustinus de laude et virtute psalmorum.

With place, with printer's name,—Nov. 1486. 4to.

MT. 90a 1: Text, Type 5; Device 1.

MT. 90a 2: Imprint, Type 5; Woodcut (copied from one in Gerard Leeu's series of 66 cuts of 1482).

12. Dat Sterfboeck.

With place, with printer's name, 1488. Folio.

MT. 93b: Woodcut (a Dutch copy from the original Latin *Ars moriendi*).

MT. 92d: Woodcut initials A, B, D, E, G, H, M, N, T.

Class G. Types 5, 6; printed signatures; devices 1, 2^b; printed title-page. 1490.

13. Passionael mitten Martirologio, Winterstuck.

With place, with printer's name, Nov. 1490. Folio.

MT. 92c: Woodcut initial H. The title of this book is in Type 6, and the text in Type 5, but no facsimile of the type is given.

Class H. Types 5, 6, 7; printed signatures; devices 1, 2^b; printed title-page. 1491 (–1492?).

14. Psalterium Virginis Mariae.

No date (1491). 8vo.

MT. 90c: First line of text, Type 5; rest of text, and heading, Type 7. (I had placed this here conjecturally, because I had never seen the book, and no account of it is given in the MT. except as being without date; so that until further information was obtained, it was necessary to put it last among the books in which Type 5 occurs, and that type disappears after 1492. Since then, however, the arrangement is confirmed by the discovery that the *Exercitia utilissima pro horis solvendis* is also in Types 5 and 7, and is dated 30 April 1491.)

Class I. Types 6, 8; printed signatures; devices 1, 2^b; printed title-page. 1493.

15. Epistelen ende Ewangelien mitten Sermonen.

With place, with printer's name, 27 March 1493. 4to.

MT. 90b: Text and imprint, Type 8.

Class K. Types 6, 8, 9, 10; printed signatures; devices 1, 2^b; printed title-page. 1494–1497 (? 1498).

16. Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium.

No place, no printer's name, 1494. Folio.

MT. 91a 1: Title, lines 1, 2, woodcut; line 3, Type 8.

MT. 91a 2: Woodcut (Half a block of the original *Canticum Canticorum*).

MT. 50*c: Text, line 1, Type 9: lines 2—4, Type 10.

MT. 91a 3: Head-line and imprint, Type 8; Text, Type 9.

17. *Baptistae Mantuani Secundae Parthenices opus.*

With place, no printer's name, 1497. 4to.

MT. 94a 1: Title, line 1, Type 6; lines 2—5, Type 8.

MT. 94a 2: Text, Type 9; Imprint, Type 8.

18. *Liber faceti.*

No place, no printer's name, no year (? 1497). 4to.

MT. 94b: Title, line 1, Type 6; lines 2, 3, Type 8; Woodcut (copied from that used by Jacobus de Breda at Deventer).

Class L. Types 9, 10, 11; printed signatures; ? device; printed title-page. 1499.

BRH 506, Ludolphus, *Leven ons heeren J. C.* (printed 15 March 1499), is in Type 11, and without any device; but no facsimile is given in the MT. of any book as printed by Peter van Os after 1494.

Class M. Types 9, 10, 11; printed signatures; device 3; printed title-page. 1500.

Bartholomei Coloniensis *Canones* (printed by 'Petrus Ossensis' in 1500) is in Types 10 and 11, with device 3; but no facsimile is given in the MT.

Tyman Petersoen van Os (? xv. century).

Class A. At Zwolle; Types of Peter van Os 9, 11; Device of Peter van Os 3; printed signatures; printed title-page.

1. *Aristoteles de moribus ad Eudemium.*

With place, with printer's name, no year. 4to.

MT. 94c: Text, Type 9 of P. van Os; Head-line and imprint, Type 11 of P. van Os; Device 3 of P. van Os.

Class B. At Zutphen; his own device; his own type. 1518.

2. *Die costelike scat der geesteliker rijkdom.*

Zutphen, with printer's name, 1518.

MT. 94d 1: Imprint.

MT. 94d 2: Device.

As the *Esopus grecus* is printed wholly in Type 8, which did not come into use till 1493, it is clearly erroneous to date it "about 1484," as is done in the Hague *Catalogus*, or to attribute it to Gerard Leeu, as is done in the present sale catalogue. By dating

it "about 1495" I mean that according to our present knowledge, it may have been printed any time between 1493 and 1497.

NOTE E.

THE PRINTER OF THE *Herbarius*. DID VELDENER RETURN FROM KUILENBURG TO LOUVAIN?

In the Sale Catalogue the *Herbarius* is erroneously attributed to the press of Mathias van der Goes at Antwerp about 1482; and the title there given to it, *Herbarius of Kruidboeck in dietsche*, is somewhat misleading, seeing that the Dutch translation is always known as the *Herbarius of Kruidboeck in dietsche*, while this is the original latin with merely the Dutch name of each plant added to the latin name in the heading.

Two sizes of type are used in the book, a smaller for the text and a larger for the headings. They are evidently meant to go together, and must be the work of the same artist, as almost all the capitals have a very close resemblance in the two alphabets. They are found together, so far as I know, only in the following books:

1. *Matheoli Perusini Tractatus de memoria*; in quarto, 6 leaves, no printed signatures, the first leaf blank.
2. *Tractatus de aegritudinibus infantium*; in quarto, only known from four leaves which I discovered a few years ago in the binding of a book at Cambridge.
3. The present *Herbarius in latino*, ed. A.; in quarto, 174 leaves, with printed signatures only in the second part or last two quires of the book, the first leaf blank.
4. *Herbarius in latino*, ed. B.; a page-for-page reprint of ed. A., only that the first leaf is not blank but contains a printed title-page with Veldener's device No. 2^b.

Both editions of the latin *Herbarius* are proved to be subsequent to the edition of the *Kruidboeck in dietsche* which is dated 1484, from the fact of a fracture in the cut of the *Acetosa* which is found in both the latin editions, while in the Dutch edition it is entire; and the *Kruidboeck* dated 1484 is presumed to be subsequent to the latin edition printed at Mentz in the same year, because in the Dutch edition the cuts are simply reverse copies of those in the Mentz edition.

The large type is not found, I believe, in any book from any other press. Accordingly, from the title-page of no. 4 in the above

list, it is necessary to attribute all these books to Veldener, until they are proved to have been printed by some one else. The smaller type is found elsewhere. It appears, 8 June 1486, in a book printed at Louvain by Egidius van der Heerstraten (*Barth. Cepollae Veronensis Cautelae*, BRH. 139), and afterwards there till 1488. It appears, 4 Oct. 1486, in a book printed at Delft (*De spiritu Gwidonis*, BRH 468), and afterwards there till 1491. It appears, 21 June 1487, in a book printed at Antwerp by Mathias van der Goes (*Sermones quattuor novissimorum*, BRH 165); and from the mode of printing this last book, it is clear that several books which issued from the press of M. van der Goes in the same type must have preceded this one, though all of them would be subsequent to 1484¹.

Now it may be asked how we are to distinguish from one another books issued from these four presses, when they have no printer's name in the imprint. The answer is, that we must study the known characteristics of the several presses, and place the books according to those characteristics. For instance :

I. In the Delft books this type is always used in combination with one or other of the well-known large types belonging to that press, as in the *De spiritu Gwidonis* where it is used with one, and in the *Obitus B. Hieronymi* and the two editions of the *Quattuor novissima* of Dionysius Carthusianus where it is used with another. (See the facsimiles in the *Mon. Typ.*) Besides this, in the Delft books the signatures run by leaves (a i, a ij, a iij, a iiij, b i, b ij, b iij, b iiij, and so on) which at once serves to distinguish them from all the other books in this type.

II. Of the Antwerp books, many are in the smaller type alone, but in several it is found combined with a larger type which Math. van der Goes also procured from Veldener, the large black type which occurs in the headings of Veldener's Dutch edition of the *Kruidboek* dated 1484. It is also found in combination with another large type which passed to Goes's successor, Godfr. Back,

¹ In 1482 and early in 1483 M. van der Goes used the type which had been used at Delft from 1477 to 1479 and was thenceforward disused there. In 1484 we find him using a worn type of the East Flanders kind, the original owner of which has not yet been traced. I believe no books of

this are known under the dates of 1485 and 1486; but in 1487 we find him, as is said above, using the smaller type of the *Herbarius in latino*. All this has been worked out and explained in the *Monumens Typographiques* by Mr Holtrop.

and was much used by several printers during the last ten or twelve years of the XVth century. (See the facsimiles in the *Mon. Typ.*) Some of these books too have the device of M. van der Goes, and all the later ones have woodcut initials; but the quartos may be easily distinguished from the Delft books by the signatures, which here run by sheets (a, a 3, b, b 3, and so on) instead of by leaves, not to mention the use of arabic numerals in the one and roman in the other.

III. Of the books printed in this type at Louvain by Egidius van der Heerstraten almost all have his name; but in other respects he never combines this type with any of a larger size; his signatures run like those in the Antwerp books, only they are for the most part some way below the text and not close under it; and the page has generally a different aspect from the others.

IV. As distinguished from all these, Veldener's books in this type are almost all destitute of signatures, a very exceptional point at this date. Only in the second portion of the *Herbarius in latino*, which occupies the last three quires of the volume, they run not to the leaves (as in ordinary books), not to the sheets (as in the Antwerp books and many others), but to the quire. The first quire begins with a blank page and therefore has no signature, and the second and third quires are simply signed on their first pages, *b* and *c*.

From all these circumstances, I am led to attribute the *Herbarius in latino*, and the group of books in which it stands, to Veldener's press about 1484-85. At this point, however, another question presents itself. Where was this press? Was it at Kuilenburg as in 1483, or had Veldener removed to another place? What points have we to guide us in forming a judgment? It will not take long to state the grounds which have convinced me that Veldener returned to Louvain in 1484, and there printed the group of latin books which have led to this discussion.

The rare circumstance of finding the *Herbarius in latino* and Veldener's edition of the *Alphabetum divini amoris* in the same collection, has led me to what I believe to be the solution of the question. A slight sketch of the history of Veldener's various presses and types will be sufficient to explain the matter.

Veldener was matriculated in the University of Louvain, in the faculty of medicine, 30 July 1473. There are nine kinds of type which can be identified with his presses. I have stated above (see

Note A) that there is no apparent authority for attributing the *Dialogi decem* of 1473 and the books which go with this, to Veldener, so that I omit all consideration of this type.

Type 1 appears in an edition of the *Consolatio peccatorum* of Jacobus de Theramo to which a letter is prefixed, addressed *Johanni Veldener artis impressoriae magistro*, and dated 7 Aug. 1474. This type bears a strong resemblance to that of the Cologne printer, Nic. Goetz of Sletzstat. It was superseded by Type 3.

Types 2 and 3 first appear, Type 2 in the rubrics and Type 3 in the text of the *Lectura super institutionibus* of Angelus de Gambiglioni de Aretio, printed at Louvain in 1475. Type 2 is of the West Flanders kind, and bears a strong resemblance to the type used by Caxton in the *Quatre derrenieres choses* before he left Flanders, and taken by him to England in 1477. In body they are precisely the same, and in most of the letters they are to all appearance identical. This type does not appear again in Veldener's books, being unsuited for the latin works which he printed while at Louvain. Type 3 is of the Cologne school and strongly resembles Arnold ter Hoernen's ordinary character, especially the capital letters. It superseded Type 1, and remained in use with Veldener till 1477, only with a number of the capitals of Type 1 mixed with it. Afterwards it appears with Conrad Braem at Louvain in 1481, and at Leyden with Heynricus Heynrici in 1483 and 1484.

Type 4 first appears in the *Fasciculus temporum* printed at Louvain 4 *Kal. Jan.* 1476 *secundum stilum romane curiae* (that is 29 Dec. 1475, as the year according to that reckoning began with Christmas). This is also of the Cologne school, being almost identical in form with Type 3, only considerably smaller. It is occasionally found used by Veldener at Utrecht, but only as a supplementary type and when needed for a special purpose. It passed afterwards into the possession of the Louvain printer, Ludovicus de Ravescot.

So far Veldener's books are all in latin, for which the Cologne types are most suited. In 1478 he is found at Utrecht, and as all the books which he printed in Holland, whether at Utrecht or at Kuilenburg, appear to be in the vernacular, a different type was needed.

Type 5 is used from 1478 to 1484 for the text of all the Dutch books printed by Veldener at Utrecht and Kuilenburg. It belongs to the West Flanders family, and bears a very strong resemblance

to that used at Bruges by Joh. Briton, who claims to have originated this character. Type 5 passed from Veldener into the possession of the anonymous Louvain printer of the *Physiognomia* of Michael Scotus.

Type 6 is used for the headings of the *Kruidboeck in dietsche* printed, apparently at Kuilenburg, in 1484. It closely resembles the blacker type used at Bruges by Joh. Briton, only Veldener's is rather the larger of the two. It passed afterwards into the possession of Matth. van der Goes the Antwerp printer.

Types 7 and 8 are used, Type 7 for the headings and Type 8 for the text of the *Herbarius in latino*, which is necessarily subsequent in date to the *Kruidboeck* of 1484. Enough has been said about these types in the earlier part of this note. They both appear to be German in origin. Type 7 has points of resemblance to the corresponding type in the Mentz *Herbarius*. I have not investigated the relations of Type 8.

Type 9 alone remains. All the others have a necessary sequence which enables us to number them according to the date of their coming into use. Type 9 is found in the *Alphabetum divini amoris* without date but professing to have been printed in *universitate Lovaniensi*. The type is not Dutch or Flemish in origin; and if we may judge from the other books printed in the Low Countries in which this or very similar type is found, it is impossible to believe that the *Alphabetum divini amoris* was printed at Louvain before Veldener's removal to Utrecht in 1478. The course of this type has a considerable resemblance to that of Type 8 given above. One almost identical, only rather larger, was the first type used by Egid. van der Heerstraten at Louvain, 9 April 1486. Another similar type, identical in body but rather rounder, was used at Gouda by Gotfr. de Os, 13 Nov. 1486. Another, of the same family, was used by Thierry Martens when he started his second press at Alost in 1487. Among the earliest of his books printed there at this time is an edition of this same *Alphabetum divini amoris* dated 6 Febr. 1487 and containing the same number of leaves and lines to a page as Veldener's edition.

These facts alone would lead one to consider whether Veldener may not have returned from Kuilenburg to Louvain. His books fall so naturally into three groups: a set of latin books printed at Louvain from 1474 to 1477; a set of Dutch books printed at Utrecht and Kuilenburg from 1478 to 1484; and a set of latin

books having certain remarkable features of their typography in common, and one of them bearing the imprint of Louvain. The type of this last is not the same as the types of the others, but I felt that an examination of the books side by side would not improbably shew characteristics in common; and this conjecture has been amply verified. The *Herbarius* is in quarto, the *Alphabetum divini amoris* in octavo. The signatures at once attracted my attention. In the quarto, as mentioned above, where they occur at all, they are found only on the first page of the quire. In the octavo the sheets are simply signed on the first page of each, *a, b, c, d, e, f*. This however is not uncommon in octavo books, and would be an unsafe ground of inference. But when I took the *Alphabetum divini amoris* to pieces, and unfolded the quarter-sheets, I at once found that the length and breadth of the two octavo pages of the *Alphabetum* when spread out, precisely corresponded to the breadth and length of the full quarto page of the *Herbarius*, so that the same 'form' would answer for both. On comparing the two with the *Tractatus de aegritudinibus infantium* I found the same correspondence; and the whole series of circumstances thus led me to accept as a conclusion what had been up to that time a mere supposition. It is perhaps possible that further researches on the part of Mr van Evan, the learned archivist of Louvain, may lead to the discovery of some traces of Veldener's second residence at Louvain at this period. The very fact that three printers, Egidius van der Heerstraten, Ludovicus de Ravescot, and the anonymous printer of the *Physiognomia* of Michael Scotus, all started about the same time at Louvain with type almost if not quite identical with that possessed by Veldener in 1484, would seem to afford strong presumptive evidence that it was from Louvain that the dispersion of Veldener's printing stock took place.

Whatever impression is finally left on our minds concerning Veldener's places of residence, the above investigation brings out one fact which may be mentioned here before closing this note; that Veldener was no doubt a type-founder, as he says himself, but that his designs for types were not original, being all borrowed from one side or from the other, sometimes from Cologne and sometimes from Bruges. This will be recognised by some, perhaps, as the clue to another difficulty of long standing, which this however is not the place to discuss.

NOTE F.

GERARD LEEU'S EDITION OF THE *Historie van Sint Annen*.

A needless amount of confusion has been caused, concerning these two volumes, by a former bookbinder. No. 516 is, as described in the sale catalogue, a copy of *Die historie ende mirakelen S. Anna, overgheset by broeder Wouter Bor*, apparently printed at Antwerp by Hen. Eckert van Hombergh after 1500. No. 517 is, as described in the sale catalogue, a copy of *Die historie die ghetiden ende die exempelen van Sint Annen*, printed at Antwerp by Adr. van Liesveldt in 1496. The centre portion of the latter volume (no. 517) containing the *Ghetiden* or Hours of Saint Anne, seems to have been taken out by the original owner, and its place supplied by the corresponding portion of an earlier edition printed at Antwerp by Ger. Leeu about 1492. Leeu's edition is in much larger type than Liesveldt's, and was therefore no doubt found better adapted for devotional purposes. Unfortunately, when the two volumes (nos. 516 and 517) were given to a modern binder to rebind, the Liesveldt volume (no. 517) was bound up in the utmost disorder, and the portion of Leeu's edition was removed altogether and bound up between two consecutive leaves of a totally different book (no. 516), the History of Saint Anne by Wouter Bor! By good luck, both books eventually came into my possession, and after a careful dissection of both of them the confusion was removed. The result is that no. 81 in the present Index is a copy of Leeu's edition containing the *Ghetiden* but wanting the *Historie* and the *Exempelen*, and no. 84 is a copy of Liesveldt's edition containing the *Historie* and the *Exempelen* but wanting the *Ghetiden*. It should be said that Leeu's edition is printed in the type which he used from June 1491 till his death in 1493, and which is found from 1496 onwards in possession of the Collacie Broeders at Gouda. There are various points by which it is possible to distinguish Leeu's books from those of the Collacie Broeders when printed in the same type; but there is no need to discuss these just at present. A comparison of the present fragment with nos. 115 and 142 in M. Van der Meersch's list of Leeu's books would probably shew that it belongs to one of those editions.

NOTE G.

THE TWO ISSUES OF THE *Quodlibetica decisio* OF MICHAEL DE INSULIS
PRINTED BY THIERRY MARTENS.

There are two copies of this *Quodlibetica decisio* in the University Library at Cambridge, which it is necessary to call Ed. A. and Ed. B. for this reason. Ed. A. is the one described by Mr A. F. van Iseghem and in all the bibliographical books which I have examined. In this the body of the book (exclusive of the Office) ends on the *recto* of leaf 46, and the *verso* is occupied by the device of Antwerp Castle which had been from 1486 to 1493 the device of Gerard Leeu the Antwerp printer. In Ed. B. leaf 46 has been cancelled, and its place supplied by a fresh leaf, the *recto* of which is occupied by the same matter as in the other issue, only set up afresh by the printer; but the *verso* has, instead of the printer's device, a long apology on the part of the author for the haste with which the work has been put together, stating that it was completed on the 15th of June 1494. I cannot say how far this cancel throws light upon the date at which the book was printed. In any case the fact of the blank impression of the arms of Spain upon the last leaf, as mentioned in the sale catalogue, is most interesting to notice, and may lead to further observations.

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corresponding numbers of this Index.*

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19	35	109	14	229	2
20	40	110a	1	230	70
21	27	110b	1	234	60
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26	47	116	51	327	31
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73a	13	123	7	437	80
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XII. ON THE ENGRAVED DEVICE USED BY NICOLAUS GOTZ OF SLETZSTAT, THE COLOGNE PRINTER, IN 1474¹.

A GOOD deal of attention has been paid of late years to a kind of engraving which was practised largely in Germany in the fifteenth century, but which soon afterwards fell into disuse. These dotted or rather punctured prints (*Gravures criblées* or *Schrotblätter*), which were formerly looked upon as woodcuts, are now acknowledged to be specimens of goldsmith's work of a kind which had existed for many generations as ornamental work, but which only came to be used for printing from when the other methods of engraving on wood and copper had been invented for that purpose. After examining such recent works²

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, November 21, 1870.

² Those I have examined are the following:—

1. *Copies photographiques des plus rares gravures criblées, estampes, gravures en bois etc. du xv. et xvi. siècle qui se trouvent dans la collection royale d'estampes à Munic. Publiées par Robert Brulliot. Munic, 1856. 10 livraisons, Folio.* Of these photographs, seven are from *gravures criblées*; among them the St Christopher and the Woman of Samaria, alluded to below.

2. *Le Peintre-Graveur. Par. J. D. Passavant. Tome 1. Leipsic, 1860, 8vo.*

3. *Histoire de l'origine et des pro-*

grès de la gravure dans les Pays-Bas et en Allemagne jusqu'à la fin du quinzième siècle. Par Jules Renouvier. Bruxelles, 1860, 8vo. It is singular that, though the author mentions the cuts used by Gotz in the text of his edition of the *Fasciculus temporum*, yet the device seems to have escaped his notice.

4. *Documents iconographiques et typographiques de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique. 1^{re} série (les bois), 2^e livraison. Gravure criblée, Impressions négatives. Par M. H. Hymans. Bruxelles, 1864, Folio.*

5. *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift. An deren frühesten Erzeugnissen in der Weigel'schen Sammlung erläutert von T. O. Weigel*

as I have been able to find on the subject, one thing which strikes me forcibly about these prints is, that very few data seem yet to have been discovered to show where any of them were executed. One, discovered at Mainz in 1800 and now preserved at Paris, bears the date 1454¹. Another, now at Munich, contains the arms of Cologne. Others are found in two or three little books, of which the letter-press is in type of the same family as (though not identical in size with) that used in two of the three editions of the Letters of Indulgence of Paulinus Chappe, printed in 1454 (at Mainz?), and also in the books printed at Bamberg by Albert Pfister in 1461 and 1462. In the case of one or two picture-indulgences there is enough engraved text to show, by the dialect used, in what part of Germany they were produced; but this is all. Under these circumstances I think it as well to put on record any new fact which adds to our scanty knowledge of the subject.

Some years ago I laid before the Society a copy of a work consisting of two Kalendars (*Cisianus* and ordinary) and an astronomical treatise by an otherwise unknown writer, Lazarus Beham of Sulzbach, the whole printed at Cologne by Nicolaus Gotz of Sletzstat in 1477, and remarkable for containing two diagrams engraved on copper. These are I believe much the earliest illustrations of the kind found in any book printed in Germany, and, as such, deserve more attention than they have hitherto received². A few weeks ago I purchased from Messrs. Sotheran & Co. a copy of the *Repertorium juris* of Joannes

und Dr Ad. Zestermann. Bd. 2. Leipzig, 1866, Folio. This work contains a description of Mr Weigel's own collection, of which Nos. 322—400 are *Schrotblätter*; but though the book abounds with facsimiles, only one is given of this kind of print.

¹ This date, on the print of St Bernardinus at Paris, has been read by some 1474; but the fact is, that the 5 used in Germany and the Low Countries at that time was very much

more like a modern 7 than a modern 5, but not at all like the 7 used at the same period. The misreading is all the more unfortunate, that it seems to throw a doubt upon what is unquestionable, and to make it appear as if the reading 1454 originated in a wish to make the print older than it is in fact.

² See some account of this book in a note at the end of this paper.

Milis, printed at Cologne in 1475 by this same printer, Nicolaus Gotz of Sletzstat, and containing his engraved device, which I had never before seen. This device has been mentioned by several writers¹, but from their remarks, or from the absence of their remarks, I had always assumed it to be an ordinary woodcut. I was as much surprised, therefore, as pleased, on receiving the book, to find that the device was not a woodcut at all, but one of those dotted or punctured engravings (*gravures criblées*) which I have been speaking about. As Gotz's employment of engravings on copper to illustrate one of his books had added much to the interest I had long felt in the productions of his press (from the fact of its connexion with our own first printer, Caxton, as well as with certain Belgian presses connected with both), it may be supposed that this fresh discovery was not likely to diminish that interest.

Renouvier (*Histoire*, p. 27) has pointed out the important fact mentioned above, that in the only engraving of this kind which gives any certain clue to the place of its production—the one now at Munich representing Our Lord and the woman of Samaria—the arms of Cologne appear on the well; as may be seen in the photograph given in Brulliot's *Copies photographiques*. But in the case of Gotz's device we have not only the place (Cologne), but the year (1474), and the name of the printer, who made use of the plate even if he did not engrave it himself. His neighbour Koelhoff, the Cologne printer, we know was a goldsmith; and there are several other instances of the occupations of goldsmith and printer being combined in one person, at a time when most printers were their own type-founders; so that, whether engraved by Gotz

¹ I was not aware, at the time, that Dibdin had given a facsimile of this very device in his *Supplement to the Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (London, 1822, 8vo.), p. 47, in the description of one of the editions of the Latin Bible, printed by Gotz, with his device, but without his name. The fact that even then Dibdin was unacquainted with

the type and failed to recognise whose the device was, tends to show how rare Gotz's books are. But his facsimile does not by any means fairly represent the engraving of the original; though even in the copy there is enough to show to almost any one that it is not an ordinary woodcut.

himself or not, there is nothing to lead us to doubt that it was executed at Cologne.

We learn from Dr Ennen's preface to his *Katalog der Inkunabeln in der Stadt-Bibliothek zu Köln*, that Nicolaus Gotz was matriculated at the University of Cologne in the faculty of law, in 1470; and that he had left Cologne before 1481, as appears from documents in the Cologne archives. His first dated book is the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus, April 30, 1474; his last is the Latin Bible of May 9, 1480¹. His type does not appear at Cologne after 1480; but there are many books in the same type which bear evident marks of having preceded the *Vita Christi*, and which may therefore safely be placed between 1470 and 1474. Still, so far as we know, the *Vita Christi* of April 30, 1474, is the first, and the *Fasciculus temporum* of 1478 is the last book of his, in which his name and engraved device have been yet found. Unfortunately his books are rarely to be met with, and there is no work which contains any approach to a complete list of them, much less any account of the various points of interest connected with them.

The device itself, when complete, measures 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in., and consists of an upright coat of arms (a chevron between three scallop shells) surmounted by a helmet with the usual mantlings, upon which is the crest (a man, half-length, and holding what looks like a sword with both hands); and above and on each side of the crest is the motto, the same which appears with slight variations in most of Gotz's books: on one side, 'sola spes mea,' and on the other, 'inte (or uite) virgīs grā.' At the foot is the name 'Nicolaus gotz de sletzstat.' I

¹ The copies of the second volume of this Bible at the Hague and at Cologne are described by Mr Holtrop and Dr Ennen; and I have myself examined the perfect copy in Jesus College library in this University. The date runs thus: 'Anno M° CCCC° lxxx°. vij. id' maij.' Mr Holtrop and Dr Ennen both take this to mean 'the ides of May, 1487, not seeing that this

rendering would have required vij° instead of vij. Take the date as it stands 'M° CCCC° lxxx° [1480] vij. id' maij' [May 9], and it harmonises perfectly with the fact which Dr Ennen elsewhere adduces from the city records, that Gotz had left Cologne by 1481; and the difficulty about his types being found at Cologne in 1487 thus vanishes at once.

rat et illo frui appetat. Ihesus ad prem rediit
 celeste regnu subijt cor meū a me trāsiit post
 ihm simul abiit Iā psequimur laudibz ihm pp
 ms et pabo vt nos donet celestibz cū ipō frui
 sedibz Amē. **O**mnine ihu ppe fili dei viu
 p hys et oibz q dē te pie credim? et credē de
 temus ti grās licz idignas referim? p ea te
 supplicat epōām? vt te ipm ex pte oim celesti
 um trestriū et ifernorū deo pā offeras in dig
 nā laudē oim i qbz sūmā tmitatē laudabile re
 cognoscis et i plenā grā actionē p qlibet bñ
 ficio a singul debi tā creaturis atq; i vā emen
 dacōez oim maloz ab origine mūdi cōmissoz
 et i sufficiētē p̄solucōez oim bonoz vñq; obmis
 sorū i supplecōez q; meriti oim bñficatōrū : et
 grē oim iustificatōz : ac emēdacōis oim p̄cō
 run cefrigerij q; oim purgātorum nec nō in
 reuelacionem omnis indigēcie corpis et a
 nime singulorum . . . AMEN .



Gracias
 altissimas
 xpi ihesu
 hic in scā
 mino Phi
 bique pro feto. 1522. Ihesu incarnacōis anno.

Quod vult
 rui filio
 colonia t
 lupi Iaco

Device of Nicolas Gotz de Sletzstat. 1474

have not been able to see a perfect copy of the Ludolphus. Of the *Fasciculus temporum* of 1474 there is a copy in the British Museum. In this the device is perfect. In the *Repertorium juris* of 1475, and I presume in all subsequent impressions, the line at the foot, containing the printer's name, has disappeared. The device stands close against the type, but there is no trace of any rivets or nails by which the plate has been fastened into its place in the form¹.

The earliest prints of this kind are, in the opinion of Passavant (*Le Peintre-Graveur*, tome 1), those in which, like the Munich St Christopher (see the photograph given by Brulliot), almost all the effect is produced by dots or punctures of different sizes and more or less thickly spread, resembling embroidery work with pearls. The next stage seems to be that in which the various effects of light and shade are produced by a combination of dots (in the earlier specimens, dots of different sizes) and fine lines. In the latest specimens the dots have ceased to form any part of the life (so to speak) of the treatment, and are used only to relieve a purely black ground; and so the practice is eventually reserved for the dotted grounds of the initial letters so common in the first half of the sixteenth century. In Gotz's device the combination of dots and fine lines is very apparent; and it would seem to occupy a position about midway between the earlier and later modes.

I may as well mention here that we have in the University Library two editions of the *Horologium devotionis* printed at Cologne, one probably between 1485 and 1495 and the other between 1496 and 1506, which serve to illustrate this point, though I have not seen any notice of these volumes as containing prints of this description. Both editions are illustrated partly by *gravures criblées* and partly by ordinary cuts. The first is by Ulric Zell *apud Lijskirchen* and is in 16mo. The

¹ I have a facsimile which has been executed for me by the Autotype Company, from the copy of the *Fasciculus temporum* of 1474 (formerly belonging to Dr Kloss) in the British

Museum, marked 581, i. 1. I shall be very happy to give a copy to any one interested in the subject who will give himself the trouble to ask for it. [See Prefatory note. J.]

second is by Joh. Landen *infra sedecim domos* and is in 8vo. The *gravures criblées* are the same in both editions, though all of them are not used in the earlier one. For some reason the illustrations from the ninth to the nineteenth hours are ordinary cuts in the Lijskirchen edition; but those which are found in Landen's edition for those hours, are beyond a doubt parts of the same series as the rest. Now in almost all these the dots are simply used to relieve the black ground where necessary; and it is only in one or two, such as that of Pilate washing his hands, that there is any trace of that combination of dots and fine lines which marks the earlier prints of this kind. I may notice in passing, that in the Lijskirchen edition in 16mo the prints occupy a full page and are intact; whereas in Landen's edition in 8vo, where the print occupies only part of the page, the rivets are only too distinctly visible at top and bottom or at opposite corners, where the plate has been fixed into the form which holds the type. It is satisfactory to be able to see the two editions side by side, and so to be able to observe the different modes of printing the plates both at work. I gather from Mr Weigel's description that in his own copies of the Passion (Nos. 338, 339) these rivets or nails have been used, even though there is no text on the same page. That it is so also in the case of the two little printed books at Munich, which are illustrated with *gravures criblées*, is evident from the facsimile which Dibdin has given of one in his *Bibliographical and Antiquarian Tour*, Vol. I. (London, 1824, 8vo), p. 124.

It is much to be wished that more facts should be ascertained about the home of these curious prints. It is clear from what has been said that they are found both used by printers to illustrate their books, and as single sheets unconnected with books, so far as the printing is concerned, but pasted in for devotional purposes. Where they form part of the book we have the type to help us; but in the other cases, which are far the most numerous, what should be considered is, not so much where the book was printed as who its former owners were, as these are the people who inserted them. What is called the Mazarine Crucifixion was found in a copy of the

42-line Bible of 1456, and is therefore assumed to have been printed at Mainz. It would have been more to the purpose to tell us to what monastic library the book belonged in the fifteenth century; a fact which in a large number of cases is easily ascertained. All these facts are only an aid to finding what we want to know; but they should not be neglected as they too often are.

NOTE ON A BOOK PRINTED AT COLOGNE BY GOTZ IN 1477, WITH TWO
ILLUSTRATIONS ENGRAVED ON COPPER.

I am glad of this opportunity of putting on record a notice of this volume, as my remarks on the subject were not printed among the Society's communications in 1866; and still more because, though much has been said about it, no one seems hitherto to have discovered either the name of the author, or the place where it was printed.

The book consists of 72 leaves in small quarto, without any imprint; but it is printed in the type used only, so far as we know, by Nicolaus Gotz at Cologne, between 1474 and 1480. It is divided into three main portions: (1) 'Kalendarius cum Cysiano,' 26 leaves (1--26), in 3 quires of 8, 8, and 10 leaves respectively; (2) 'Alius Kallendarius volgarisatus per festa idus nonas et Kallendas,' 28 leaves (27--54), in 4 quires of 6, 8, 4, and 10 leaves respectively; (3) 'Eyn buch von der astronomien,' 18 leaves (55--72), in 2 quires of 8 and 10 leaves respectively. A full table of contents of the whole volume is printed on the first page, and occupies 33 lines, of which the commencement is given by Hain (*Rep. bibl.* No. *9728). The first and third portions seem in some measure independent works; the second is based chiefly on the Kalendar and calculations of Regiomontanus. In the first portion the *Radices planetarum* are calculated for the years 1477 to 1536, and they are described in the table of contents as 'practicatas Anno domini 1477.' Then follows the 'Tabula augis omnium planitarum anno Christi 1477,' and with this an *Exemplum* beginning: 'Item ich wil wissen den miteln louff saturnus vff den. xij. tag aprilli in dem .1478. iar...'. I think this makes it clear that the book was printed in 1477, and not the year before.

In the second portion, opposite the months of the Kalendar, are the tables of new and full moon calculated for three 19-year cycles, beginning 1475, 1494, and 1513. In the Canon, or directions about these, occur the words, 'Ich warn dich furbas das alle solche rechnung gericht ist uff die hoch lobsame stat Nuremberg.' The compiler is here simply quoting Regiomontanus. In the *Tauel der Sonnen* and *Tauel des Mondes* the tables run from 1475 to 1534. The eclipses are calculated from 1476 to 1527.

Leaves 45 and 46 are pasted together, and, 45^b and 46^a being blank, 45^a is occupied by a diagram engraved on copper, without any text, and 46^b by another diagram similarly engraved, consisting of a graduated circle with days of the month, signs of the zodiac, &c., and two revolving circles also graduated and engraved in the same way, and fixed on to the paper

with knotted thread and a little square of parchment. The plate measures about six inches each way, and above the circle are the words (engraved):

INSTRVMENTVM VERI MOTVS LVNE

and below (engraved):

ADDE INDEM SCHALT IAR AN SANCT MATHIAS

SALTV DIE ZWO SCHIBEN FVRBAS VF XIII GRAD RVCKEN

Both pages have a very smudged appearance where the impression has been taken from the plate. The matter and diagrams correspond with those found in the Latin and Italian editions of Regiomontanus, printed at Venice by Erh. Ratdolt in 1476.

The third portion begins, 'Hie fahet an eyn buch von der astronomen...', and treats first of the twelve signs of the zodiac, and then of the seven planets. The first part the compiler concludes thus: 'vnd dis ist gheseyt von den zwelf zeichen vff das aller curezt, als ich lazarus beham von sulzbach practicus in quadruoio es hab gezogen vsz dem alcapicio vnd centoloquium vnd quadripetite vsz ptholomeus vnd halli abragel sun vnd ander mer &c.' The part about the planets concludes thus: 'vn dis sy geseit von den vij planeten vff das aller kurst.' The rest of the page is occupied with some remarks on the *cauda draconis*, and with this the volume ends. The last page is blank.

I have not been able to learn anything more of the author, Lazarus Beham of Sulzbach, than we read here. But it is singular that neither the Munich authorities, nor Hain, nor Weigel, nor Libri, by all of whom this very volume has successively been examined, should have discovered the author's name.

This copy belonged in early times to the *Collegium S. Petri Junioris Argentinae*, as appears by an entry on the first page. It subsequently found its way into the Royal library at Munich, and bears the stamp (now partly obliterated) at each end, 'Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis.' While there it was described by Hain, though not with his usual accuracy, as the *figura astronomica mobilis*, which he describes as occupying leaf 45, is really the two diagrams on 45^a and 46^b described above; and he further speaks only of woodcut illustrations, which those representing the eclipses no doubt are.

In 1858 it formed part of a collection of duplicates from the Munich library, sold by Butsch at Augsburg, on which occasion it was bought by Mr T. O. Weigel, of Leipzig, for the moderate sum of 45 florins. It had been stamped, before leaving Munich, with the mark 'Duplum Bibliothecæ R. Monac.' which is now almost entirely obliterated.

Mr Weigel was not a man to make light of such a purchase, and it appeared almost immediately after in his *Catalogue mensuel de livres anciens, rares et curieux qui se trouvent chez T. O. Weigel a Leipzig*, No. 9, under the number 3166, as *Kalendarii duo (Latine et Germanice) c. fig. aere et lign. inc. S. l. et a. (1476.) in-4. rel. en b.*, and priced at 160 thalers, or £24! A note describes it as 'd'une haute importance pour

l'histoire de la gravure...Il contient deux gravures en taille douce, qui prouvent que le Monte santo di Dio par A. Bettini, publié à Florence, en 1477, n'était pas le premier livre dans lequel se trouvent des gravures, et que cette invention n'appartient pas aux Italiens, mais aux Allemands. Le livre est de toute rareté, il ne se trouve nul part une notice d'une autre exemplaire.' All is fair in war, it is said, and no doubt in trade also. We may suppose that the note was written, the Munich marks obliterated, and the price fixed, by some subordinate; but it is difficult to understand how such a tissue of irrelevant statements (to use the gentlest expression) can have been allowed to appear by a man like Mr Weigel, whose known acquaintance with the subject might be trusted to lead, rather than mislead, the unwary purchaser.

The note however did its work, and the book was immediately bought by M. Libri, and in the following June (1859), it appeared in the sale catalogue of a portion of his library (sold in London by Messrs Sotheby & Co.), with a long note attached, in which all the statements in Mr Weigel's Catalogue were repeated, with expansion. But the bidding did not answer M. Libri's expectations, not reaching nearly half the sum that he had given for the book, and it was bought in by the owner for £11.

Soon after this a notice appeared in the *Beilage zu No. 295 des Dresdner Journals* (Dec. 23, 1859), from the pen of Dr Graesse, in which that writer abuses M. Libri literally like a pickpocket, and charges him with ignorance, theft, and falsification. If these engravings had really been on copper, he says, how could they have escaped Hain's notice? How could the book have brought so small a sum at the Munich sale? In fact M. Libri must have stuck the plates in himself and palmed them off as a genuine part of the book, &c., &c. Dr Graesse allows that he had never seen the book himself, but it is a pity that the omniscience which he elsewhere claims for himself (see the note in his *Trésor des livres rares*, tome 1, page 553, on Brunet's *Manuel du libraire*,) did not come to his aid and make him aware that all the enormities which he charges to M. Libri's account in regard to this book, were in reality due to the description of it published by his own countryman and neighbour Mr Weigel.

In 1865 the book reappeared in London at the sale of another portion of M. Libri's library (by Messrs Puttick and Simpson), and this time it was allowed to go to Mr F. S. Ellis for the reduced sum of £7. 12s. 6d. It remained with him unexamined until January 1866, when, on passing through London, I happened to see it. I at once recognised it as an unclaimed production of one of my favourite printers; and I made it my own without delay. Some years afterwards I presented it to the University Library, with other books of the same kind, and there I hope it will now remain.

bat et insup quarta illoꝝ q̄ ab videntibꝫ specta
 culū veniebant Dñ non eadē mē : seq̄bantur
 sed q̄dam vt leti morientē aspicerēt q; vultē
 tem oderunt alij vt morientē plāgerēt quem
 viuente dilexerūt Puct? ē at cū socijs duobꝫ
 vtiq; latromibꝫ p mediū vrb̄ . vbi ei? cōfusio
 parebat singulis ad ostia ⁊ fores cōfluētibꝫ
 'Hec ē societas tua Q bone ihesu q̄ntam tibi ve
 reundiā isti faciūt Latromibꝫ te associāt' ! h̄
 et deterius tibi faciūt q; crucē portandā impo
 nūt qđ de latromibꝫ nō legīt Vñ non solum
 cū im̄qs deputatus es h̄ et im̄grū im̄quice In
 dicibilis ē dñe paciēcia tua Hoc ad lām p
 curatū fuit p p̄ncipes iudeorū vt cristus infā
 maretur societate latronū . et a vulgaribꝫ vi
 deret in criminibꝫ eoꝝ p̄cipasse et sic ipi vi
 derent iuste mortē eius p̄uisse Sic ⁊ hodie
 frequēter maligni faciunt : quī suā neq̄ciam
 p bonorū infamiam opite q̄runt Per iusticie
 etiam subuersionē hodie multis locis depu
 tātur iusti cū im̄qs Xps aut p̄misit hoc fieri
 vt ostendēret q; pro peccatoribꝫ vellet pati
 Vnde **Peđa** Sed ille cum im̄quis deputatus
 est in mortē vt im̄quos iustificaret in resurrec
 tione : quī cum in forma dei esset ppter ho
 mines homo factus est vt hominibꝫ p̄tatem
 daret filios dei fieri Nec **beđa** . Occurre igitur
 nunc aīa mea . et vide amatoꝝ tuum et domi

Specimen of types used by N. Gotz
 from the Ludolphus of 1474

XIII. ON TWO ENGRAVINGS ON COPPER, BY G. M., A WANDERING FLEMISH ARTIST OF THE XV—XVITH CENTURY¹.

AMONG the little-known engravers on copper in the Low Countries at the close of the fifteenth century, one who signs himself G. M. is certainly one of the least known. The earlier writers make no mention of him. Passavant (*Le Peintre-Graveur*, tome 2, page 291) mentions but one piece of his, a 'Mass of St Gregory,' of which an impression is preserved at Liége. I have recently found two more; one in a manuscript² in St John's College library, the other in a printed book³ in the library at Lambeth Palace. These two are dated from different places, the one from Mechlin, and the other from Dendermonde. I have thought it worth while to make a note of them for the Society, partly because they afford an interesting instance of the work of a wandering artist who has attracted little attention; but I am chiefly anxious to do

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, November 21, 1870.

² This MS. first came to my knowledge early in 1868; and I then read (March 9, 1868) before the Society some remarks both upon the House of Bethany which it contains, and upon three other little (early Dutch) engravings on copper, which I found fastened into a Utrecht Breviary (16mo. Paris—Antwerp, 1514), in the University Library. I have included

my remarks on the *House at Bethany*, by G. M., in the present paper; and I have taken the liberty of subjoining a description of the other three engravings in the form of a note. (See Note A at the end of this communication.)

³ This book bears marks of having once contained eighteen of these devotional pictures fastened into it. (See Note B at the end of this communication.)

so because it is most desirable that engravers of this date should not be suffered to remain unknown merely from the fact that the few specimens which time has spared of their work happen to lie buried among the treasures of what are, comparatively speaking, private libraries.

1. *Christ in the house at Bethany.* This is printed on a quarto page of paper measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. The plate itself measures 5 in. in height, by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in breadth at the top and $3\frac{3}{8}$ at the bottom. The interior of the house is represented as seen from the outside. At the top is the roof with its dormer windows, beneath which is the parapet with three extinguiser turrets cut short below. Between the first and second, and the second and third of these are the words:

**Castellum
bethania**

**marthe
G M**

In the interior, on the left-hand side, are a crowd of disciples, men and women, standing, of whom ten are visible, while there are signs of more in the background. Next to these, in the centre, are seen on a raised high-backed seat, behind which are two windows, the Blessed Virgin and our Lord, at whose feet, on the right, in front, is seated Mary Magdalene, with a book open on her knee, and behind her, half-kneeling, her sister Martha, to whom our Lord is speaking (Luke x. 41, 42). Thus far the figures are all seen between the two slender columns which support the front archway. On the right-hand side, behind Martha, and seen through the side archway, is a servant, with apron on and sleeves tucked up, engaged in hanging a kitchen-pot upon a large hook over the fire. On the floor at her feet is the word

marcella

On the floor in front of the dais, between Mary Magdalene and the feet of the only two disciples¹ who stand in advance of the dais, are the words

¹ To such of us as are familiar only with the Gospel narrative, a glance at the *Golden Legend*, or some such work, will be necessary, to explain

that Cedonius was the man born blind, whose eyes our Lord opened (John ix.); and that Martilla (here called Marcella) was the servant of



THE RESURRECTION

**Lazarus
Cedoni^{us}**

In the lower right-hand corner a piece of the ground outside the house is visible, with grass and plants growing. Every figure has a nimbus, all quite plain, except that our Lord's is distinguished by the usual cross. On a line along the foot of the whole plate are the words

Ex bethnia prope mechliniam^m traditur pressa

which may, I suppose, be paraphrased thus: 'This picture as here printed may be procured from the House of Bethany near Mechlin.'

In the *Documents iconographiques et typographiques de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 1^e série (les bois), 2^e livraison, pp. 17, 18, M. Hymans gives a description of two engravings in the possession of M. Aug. de Bruyne, of Mechlin, of the first of which M. de Bruyne has the original plate. The second is almost a duplicate of ours, and one must be a copy of the other. M. Hymans adduces them as specimens of work where the principal part is engraved in relief, as if the material were wood, while the ordinary process of engraving on copper has only been brought into requisition to produce the fine details. There is no work of this kind in our G M engraving; and there are other points of difference in detail. Besides the absence of signature, the names 'Marcella' and 'Cedonius' are apparently absent, and in the line at the foot M. de Bruyne's has 'bethania' and 'mechliniam,' where ours has 'bethnia' and 'mechliniā.' I am not in a position to say which is the original and which is the copy. What M. Hymans says is as follows:

'Elle représente l'intérieur de la maison de Marthe et de Marie. Le Christ y est assis à côté de la Vierge, sur un siège élevé et semble prê-

Martha, who at the dispersion accompanied her mistress to Marseilles together with Mary Magdalene, Lazarus, Cedonius, and Maximinus, one of the seventy disciples to whose care Peter had entrusted Mary Magdalene. As Martha is said to have been the woman who was healed on the way to the

house of Jairus (Matt. ix. 20), so Martilla is identified in the legend with the woman who lifted up her voice and said, 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked' (Luke xi. 27). The acts of Martha are said to have been written by Martilla.

cher; autour d'eux sont groupés plusieurs personnages, hommes et femmes, au nombre desquels on voit Lazare, dont le nom est inscrit sur une bande-rolle déposée à ses pieds. Dans le fond on voit Marthe s'occupant des soins du ménage et suspendant un chaudron sous la cheminée, tandis que Marie, un livre ouvert sur les genoux, écoute les paroles du Christ. De minces colonnes supportent un toit crénelé, flanqué de tourelles et sur lequel on lit les mots

Castellum Marthe bethania.

Enfin, au bas de la planche se lisent, en une seule ligne, les mots :

Ex bethania p[ro]pe mechliniam tradit[ur] pressa.

Le couvent de Bethanie dont il est question dans cette légende, le premier couvent de femmes de la seigneurie de Malines, fut fondé en 1421, sous le titre de N.-D. en Bethanie (*Onze Lieve Vrouw in Bethanien*).

Sans vouloir affirmer que la planche même ait été exécutée au couvent, nous n'en devons pas moins la considérer comme imprimée dans son enceinte et distribuée sans doute, comme la précédente, aux confrères de quelque association religieuse.

I have no materials at hand to verify the other points of interest which are suggested by the present position of our engraving. It has been inserted, from a very early period, so as to face the first page of the Psalter in the MS. (G. 6) where I found it; and the impression has suffered to some extent from the strength of the ink on the opposite page. This MS. is a complete *Psalterium* arranged for church use; followed by the *Cursus B. Virginis*, the Litany, and *Vigiliae mortuorum*, with the miscellaneous devotions usually found in the volumes of *Horae*. Among these last are some prayers for which indulgences are granted by Pope Pius II. (†1464) and Louis de Bourbon, Bp. of Liège (†1482). A Liège Breviary (which we do not possess) would show at once whether the Invitatories, and the Psalms with their Anthems, are those of the *Ordinarius ecclesiae Leodiensis*. Prefixed is a Kalendar, containing besides a very few festivals (among which are Sts George, Servatius, Lambert, Remigius, Dionysius, Hubert, Leonard, Martin, Katherine, Nicholas, and Lucy), 206 entries of names evidently more or less closely connected with some sisterhood in the diocese of Liège, and 15 of them close relations of the owner, who must have been a lady of the family of van Heestert. Willem and Odielie van Heestert, her father and mother, Ghisebrecht and Gheertruyt, her grandfather and grandmother,

besides uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law, all find places here; among them her aunt 'Onse werde mater Suster Lysbeth van Heestert, ons lieue moye', ought to afford a clue by which some Liége antiquary might identify the house. The only names familiar to me are the Bishop 'Here Lodewijck van Borboen, onse groet here van Ludick' (Aug. 29), and 'Meester Jan Laet van Borchloen' (Oct. 15), whose Prognostications for 1476, 1477, 1478, and 1481, are known, though perhaps less so than those of his successor, Jaspas Laet van Borchleon, from 1485 onwards. I should describe the MS. as of the latter part of the XVth century, and the binding I should place without much hesitation in the last decade of the same century.

In a later generation the book belonged to one 'Suster Anna Puettaerst,' who, from one or two entries which she has made in the Kalendar, seems to have been related to the original owner. The next trace of ownership is the title written on the fly-leaf, 'A Primer and Psalter with Dutch Rubrickes,' in the familiar handwriting of William Crashawe, of St John's College, whose books were bought by Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who died in 1624. The 'Tho: C. S.' inside the cover shows that it was given to St John's College by his successor, Thomas, Earl of Southampton. From an entry I lately noted in reading through the University accounts for 1614—15, when Dr Samuel Ward was Vice-Chancellor, it seems probable that the Crashawe collection had some chance of being purchased for the University Library. The entry is as follows:

Item pro itinere Stationariorum London' in examinanda bibliotheca Magistri Crashawe xx^s.

Had this been the result, St John's College would have remained without what is now the largest and most precious portion of its MSS. They have certainly been better cared for than they would have been if they had gone to the larger collection; and the engraving I have here described would probably have disappeared in company with Occleve's portrait of Chaucer and other precious things which used to lie exposed

to the common chance of pillage on the open shelves of the University Library in the eighteenth century.

2. *St Katherine of Sweden crowned by angels.* This is printed on an octavo page of paper measuring 6 in. by 4½ in. The plate itself measures 4 in. in height by 3 in. in breadth. In the centre is St Katherine, half turned towards the left, holding in her right hand a lily and in her left a pastoral staff. On her left is a fawn¹ on its hind legs, with its fore feet resting one on the Saint's dress, the other against the pastoral staff. Above are two angels, one on each side, holding a crown which they are going to place on St Katherine's head. Near her head, above the lily which she holds in her right hand, is the Dove. The Saint is standing in a garden, in which flowers are growing; at her back is an embattled wall, behind and above which, through arches, are seen the buildings of a town. The garden is seen through a rounded arch supported by slender columns. At the foot runs a line with the following inscription:

S' katherina de swetia filia S' birgitte.

A border surrounds the picture on three sides. On the right and left and partly at the foot, it is filled with *separate* flowers and fruit; a treatment which marks, I believe, the very close of the XVth, or the beginning of the XVIth century. The main part of the border at the foot is occupied by a riband bearing the inscription:

G M

Ex tene ramunda

The whole bears a strong resemblance, so far as treatment

¹ This alludes to a story told in her life. When her husband 'more nobilium quamdam damam cum canibus venaretur, contigit ipsam dominam Catharinam fortuito per viam ejusdem luci pro negotiis suis vehiculo transvehi, ad quam fera cursu concito lassaprae canibus, omni feritate postposita, tanquam ad singulare praesidium confugiens, caput suum in sinu mulieris pudicae, quae in se bestiales motus am-

putaverat, mansuetissime reclinavit. Cumque a viro et aliis bestiam insequentibus esset praedicta domina Catharina requisita, ostendit eam sub pallio latitantem, supplicans humiliter pro eadem, ut captivum suum (significando bestiam) donaret libertati. Quo facilliter annuente, silvas bestia petiit.' See the *Vita S. Catharinae Suecicae auctore Ulphone*, Cap. i. Sect. 3, in the *Acta SS. Mart.* iii. 506 c.



St. Katherine of Alexandria
from the Lambeth Hours

and arrangement, to the bordered woodcuts of the Flemish devotional books of the close of the XVth century.

The words 'Ex teneramunda,' 'From Dendermonde,' correspond of course to the 'Ex bethania prope mechliniam' of the other engraving; and the probability is that the travelling artist was employed by some religious house at Dendermonde, most likely a house of Brigittine nuns, to execute an engraving of Saint Katherine of Sweden, the daughter of the foundress of their order, which could be distributed in the same way as the 'House of Bethany' at the Bethany near Mechlin. The impression I have described is one of a number of devotional pictures fastened into a copy of the Primer or *Horae*, printed on vellum at Westminster by W. de Worde, about 1494, now preserved in the library at Lambeth Palace. It is the same volume which is noticed by Fuller as being (as it was in his time with the rest of the Lambeth library) in our University Library. It is also noticed by Dr Maitland in his account of the early printed books at Lambeth; but neither of these writers mention the inserted cuts. This particular engraving is fastened to the upper margin of leaf 65^a, on which occurs the prayer 'To the propre angell', beginning 'O sancte angele...'

These details are perhaps tedious; but we know so very little of the circumstances of the execution of these early devotional pictures, that I hope it may not be considered as labour thrown away. I have some autotype facsimiles of both the engravings described above; and any one interested in the subject is welcome to have a copy, if he will ask for it¹. I owe my best thanks both to the authorities of St John's College, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well to his librarian, Mr S. W. Kershaw, of St John's College, through whose kind offices with his Grace, I have been able to examine the Lambeth Primer at my leisure.

¹ [See Prefatory note. J.]

NOTE A. On three engravings on copper, fastened into the Cambridge copy of the Utrecht Breviary of 1514.

Among the books in Bishop Moore's library, given to the University by King George in 1715, is a copy of the *Pars hyemalis* of a *Breviarium ecclesiae Trajectensis*, printed in 16mo at Paris, for Henr. Eckert van Homberch, the Antwerp bookseller, in 1514. From an entry on the title-page it must have belonged when new to the Hieronymites or *Fratres communis vitae* of Hulsberg; a fact which is confirmed by the existence, at the end of the volume, of a MS. supplement containing the Breviary office for the Commemoration of St Jerome, in a handwriting which cannot be much later than the printing of the volume. The boards of the present binding are modern, but the original sewing has not been meddled with. It is necessary to be thus far particular, because, failing all exact knowledge of the time and place at which these engravings were executed, it will afford some clue to their origin if we register such facts as we can ascertain concerning their early (even if not their original) ownership. Now the *Mons Gloriosi Hieronymi*, as the Convent of Hulsberg is here called, was close to Heerde in the Duchy of Gueldres, and within a few miles of Zwolle. This last fact serves at once to bring the cut within the circle of a very notable school of engraving, and affords a hint which may perhaps be fruitful of results in the hands of some one who is able and willing to pursue further the enquiry thus opened. This is one instance out of a thousand of the necessity of the method which I cannot too often or too strongly urge upon those who take up the study of these things. If we want to get external evidence of the place and time at which dateless books were printed or cuts engraved, we must make every effort to ascertain and register every traceable mark of original ownership. It is of course secondary evidence, and to be used with caution; but its value cannot well be over-estimated. The three little engravings on copper which I found in this book may be described as follows:

1. *The Blessed Virgin with the Infant Jesus*. Signature, W. and a graver (see Bartsch, vi. 56, and Passavant, ii. 280). This is printed on a page in 8vo. measuring $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $3\frac{5}{8}$ in.; the plate itself measuring $4\frac{3}{16}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The mother is represented half length, under a rich gothic canopy, her arms resting on the ledge in front and supporting the child on her right arm; her right breast exposed, and her head inclined towards her left shoulder. The child holds an apple in his left hand, resting against his left knee; his right hand lifted towards his left shoulder, his head resting against his mother's right breast. At the top, on each side of the centre arch of the canopy in front, is the signature, on the left side W, on the right the graver. This cut is inserted (by the original binder, and therefore necessarily not



The Blessed Virgin with the Infant Jesus.



THE NATIVITY



Saint Barbarâ.

long after the publication of the book in 1514) so as to face leaf 19^a of the *Temporale*, which contains the service for Christmas Day. It is perhaps identical with the one cited by Passavant (ii. 280, No. 34) from Heineken.

2. *The Nativity of Christ*. Signature W. Z. (unknown to Bartsch and Passavant). This is printed on a page in 16mo, but hardly any margin has been left. The plate itself is a circular cut measuring $2\frac{5}{16}$ in. in diameter, with a five-sided projection at the top (each side measuring $\frac{3}{16}$ in.) marked with a plain ring, as if the whole cut were intended to be mounted on a disc of ivory or wood, and this projecting part pierced to hold a string by which the medallion might be suspended round the neck. The cut represents the interior of the outhouse at Bethlehem. In front lies the infant Jesus; at his feet, on the left, the Blessed Virgin (with nimbus) kneeling, her hands crossed on her breast; at the child's head, St Joseph (without nimbus), also kneeling, and holding a candle in his right hand; between them two little angels kneeling. Behind, on the right, are seen the heads of an ox and an ass at the manger, above which is a small window. In the centre of the back-ground is a large ruined window, through which are seen the buildings of the town. Through the great arched entrance on the left is seen the open country; a shepherd sitting on a bank, his right hand, holding his crook, resting on the ground, while his left hand is raised as he looks up to the angel who appears over head with a scroll. On two squares of the pavement in the foreground, in front of the mother and child, is the signature W. Z. This cut has been pasted on to the reverse of the cut last described, so as to face leaf 18^b of the *Temporale*, which contains the service for Christmas Eve. Both this and the preceding cut have been somewhat disfigured by the paste used to fasten them together back to back.

3. *Saint Barbara*. No signature (I do not see it noticed in Bartsch or Passavant). This is printed on a page in 32mo, measuring 3 in. by 2 in.; the plate itself measuring $2\frac{9}{16}$ in. by $1\frac{9}{16}$ in. The Saint (with plain nimbus) is standing, half turned towards the left, and holds up an open book with both hands; her right hand, under the book, holds a palm branch. Behind her, nearly half concealed, is a round tower. In the lower part one transomed two-lighted window is visible, and another partly so. In the upper part, above the first battlements, two windows are seen. Above the second battlements is a dwarf spire. This cut has been pasted in sideways on a vacant space at the foot of the last page of that portion of the Breviary which contains the *Psalter* and *Commune Sanctorum*, so as to face the beginning of the *Proprium Sanctorum*, there being no room for its insertion four leaves further on, where the service for St Barbara's day occurs.

I have autotype facsimiles of all these three cuts, which are freely at the service of any one who wishes for specimens. [See Prefatory note. J.]

NOTE B. On the engravings fastened into the Lambeth copy of the Salisbury Primer or *Horae* printed by Wynkyn de Worde (about 1494).

Among the books in Archbishop Bancroft's collection, which forms the nucleus of the Lambeth Library, is a copy of the Salisbury Primer or *Horae* printed in quarto with the type used at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494. The back is gone, but in other respects the original binding, with its clasps, is intact, executed probably in W. de Worde's shop. The sides have each four little panels surrounded by the text 'Sit. nomen. domini. benedictum. ex. hoc. nunc. et. usque. in. seculum.' There is no trace of any earlier ownership than that of our University Library, to which it belonged during the Commonwealth period (1647—1662). The word *pape* is erased in the kalendar, but St Thomas of Canterbury remains; a fact which shows that the book was withdrawn from sight between 1534 and 1538. The devotional pictures fastened into it must have been inserted much earlier in the XVIth century. The book, as I have said, bears marks of having contained eighteen of these inserted pictures, fastened to the upper margins of the following leaves: 14^a, 18^a, 40^a, 42^a, 46^a, 48^a, 51^b, 54^b, 55^b, 63^a, 65^a, 68^a, 69^b, 138^a, 149^a, 150^a, 157^b, and 158^b. When I first saw the book at Lambeth, only three were still in existence, Nos. 10 (63^a), 11 (65^a), and 14 (138^a).

10. *Saint Bernard*. Woodcut. No signature. This is printed on a page in 16mo, measuring 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; the cut itself measuring 2 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. by 2 in. It represents an interior; on the right, in the foreground, St Bernard kneeling, turned towards the left, his hands clasped, his abbatial staff on the floor by his right side. Beyond, in the centre, the Blessed Virgin appears out of a sort of frame under a canopy, holding the child Jesus on her right arm; her left hand upon her left breast, from which the milk issues in a stream towards the saint. The usual legend ('Monstra te esse matrem') is not here. Outside, on the right, are seen various buildings. The print is inserted on leaf 63^a, over the *Oratio sancti Bernardini confessoris ordinis minorum*, beginning 'O bone Jhesu, O dulcis Jhesu....'

11. *Saint Katherine of Sweden*. On copper. Signature 'G M Ex teneramunda.' This is the second of the two engravings which I have described in the text of the present communication.

14. *The Image of Pity*. Woodcut. No signature. This is printed on a page in 8vo., measuring 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in., the cut itself measuring 2 $\frac{11}{16}$ in. by 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in., within a separable border, the outside of which measures 4 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. by 3 in. The border contains *separate* (not interlaced) flowers, fruit, and insects, with a bird in the centre at the foot. The centre-piece represents a tomb, on the face of which are three heads, the centre one a full face, the others side-faces. Out of the tomb appears our Lord, standing, his hands crossed and tied; on his head the crown of thorns and the cruciform

nimbus. All round are the symbols of the Passion, loose, as in the Dutch prints, not in compartments, as in Caxton's treatment of the subject. Immediately behind our Lord are the spear and the reed with the sponge, crosswise; behind these, the cross itself. On the left, beginning from below, the pincers and hammer, a mitred head, the bunch of hyssop hanging from the left limb of the cross. On the right, beginning from below, a sword, a hand grasping hair, the head of Judas, hanged, with the bag round his neck, and, hanging from the right limb of the cross, a scourge; on the extreme right, a pillar, surmounted by a cock. Ranged along the top of the cross, beginning from the left, are the three pots of spices, one of the nails, the label (over the centre) INRI, the two other nails, three dice; above all, on left and right respectively, the sun and moon. This is inserted on leaf 138^a over the *Oratio sancti Gregorii*, beginning 'Dominator domine deus omnipotens qui es trinitas...', which itself has prefixed to it in the text a little woodcut (measuring $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{8}$ in.) of the Mass of St Gregory.

XIV. LIST OF THE FOUNTS OF TYPE AND WOODCUT DEVICES USED BY PRINTERS IN HOLLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY¹.

THE following pages contain a list of all the different founts of type and woodcut devices used during the fifteenth century by the Dutch printers, which are described and figured in Mr Holtrop's *Monuments typographiques des Pays-Bas au xv^e siècle*, together with one or two which are either accidentally omitted there, or have come to light since the publication of that remarkable work. I use the term Dutch printers with reference to those who practised the art in the northern portion of the Low Countries which now forms the kingdom of the Netherlands. The printers of Belgium, in the modern acceptation of that term, will form the subject of a similar list.

The towns are placed in chronological order, the earliest book which has any date attached to it being taken as the guide. Under the towns the presses are arranged in the same way; and under each press the several founts of type find their place according to the date of their first use, so far as it has been ascertained. The same arrangement holds with the printers' devices. Sometimes two or more towns, as Deventer, Delft, and Gouda, come under the same year; and here precedence is given to Deventer, because only the year 1477 is known, while the other two are placed under 10 Jan. 1477 and 24 May 1477 respectively. When there is a distinct break in any printer's career, and it is clear that he starts afresh with a new fount or founts of type, and that the old types disappear, as in the case of Ger. Leeu at Gouda, and Peter van Os at Zwolle, I have used the terms First press and Second press to signify that the types of the one do not pass to the other. At Deventer, for instance, Paffroed starts in 1477 with one type, and adds

¹ Published as Memorandum No. 3, June, 1871.

a second in 1479. With these two he goes on till 1485. At this point Paffroed breaks off, and Jacobus de Breda starts in 1486 with the two founts of type which Paffroed had been using. With these Jac. de Breda goes on until 1487, when his press ceases, and these two founts of type disappear altogether. In August 1488 Paffroed begins again with an entirely fresh set of types; and in August 1489 Jac. de Breda begins again also with fresh types. Under these circumstances, to make the investigation of the books easier, and their sequence clearer, I have gone so far as to put the first press of Jac. de Breda immediately after the first press of Ric. Paffroed; because there is no trace until August 1489 of two presses being at work at Deventer simultaneously. The same terms (First, Second, &c.) are also used where a printer moves from one town to another, Veldener's first press being at Louvain (1474), his second at Utrecht (1478), his third at Kuilenburg (1483), and so on.

As the series of facsimiles in the *Monuments typographiques* is almost exhaustive, I have everywhere referred to a plate in that work, in order to shew clearly and at once what type is meant in each case by Type 1, Type 2, etc.

If this list be accepted as a fairly accurate one, my principal object in drawing it up will have been gained. In making a catalogue, for instance, of all the specimens of these presses which are to be found in the libraries at Cambridge, the additional words, 'Type 2,' or 'Types 2 (text) and 3 (commentary)' would convey at a glance the very information which is most needed, and would allow the description to be compressed into a smaller space than would otherwise be needed. It would in many cases also supersede the necessity of any reference to the facsimiles. Suppose we have any five books in a particular type, and there are five books at the Hague in the same type, the chances are great that one at least of the five will be common to the two collections, and we can at once identify all the nine as from the same press. The real books are then of more service than any facsimiles, and we become possessed of more data for studying the history of the type. Further, as the list furnishes as far as possible the date at which each type began to be used at each press, a large number of purely conjectural dates would disappear from our catalogues, and instead of speculating as to what the date of a book may possibly be, that date would be assigned which best serves to connect the book with some well-defined characteristics of other books which bear a positive date,

and the reason for assigning a date to a book would be self-evident, instead of being (as now) left to the conjecture of the reader of the catalogue.

If this practice were to be adopted in the long wished-for *Typographical Antiquities* of Holland and Belgium, and two or three words were to be added to each description to say which founts of type were used in each book, naming them numerically as I have done here, or with the greater accuracy which Mr Campbell, the present Librarian of the Royal Library at the Hague, alone can furnish, it is not too much to say that the value of such a work would be increased tenfold. In some cases of course it would be impossible to add these points of distinction, because the books have not been examined with that view, and are now perhaps not easily accessible. But if only such as were of easy access in the Royal Library were so noted, the great gain of having so much firm standing ground for future investigation would more than compensate for the labour which would have to be bestowed upon it.

It may be said that mere specimens of woodcut printing, as the *Biblia pauperum*, and other such books, having nothing typographical about them, should not have been included in a list of founts of type like the present. Where however they are actual books, I have admitted them into my list, while excluding all single woodcut sheets, pictures, &c. The latter belong rather to a history of engraving, or to a list of woodcuts, whether single or in series, such as I sometimes hope to publish; but when once the art of wood-engraving is applied to the illustration of books, the very mode of working the plates so as to form a book, even though no type be used, will sometimes aid materially in solving questions concerning printed books which would otherwise be quite hopeless.

It is perhaps necessary to add a few words in explanation of the course I have followed in placing the *Biblia pauperum*, the *Speculum humane salutis*, and the whole class of books which have been attributed to a press at Haarlem. The method I have adopted prevents me from accepting any testimony at all except such printed or written documentary evidence as is found in the volumes themselves, or failing this, such evidence as is afforded by an unmistakeable family likeness between two or more founts of type.

Having no documentary evidence as to where the *Biblia pauperum* was executed, I am bound to leave it standing where I first

find trace of it, that is, at Zwolle, where the original blocks appear, cut into several pieces, in a book printed in 1488. The fact of the working of the book being by single sheets and not by quires of two or more sheets, at once serves to connect it with the original *Canticum Canticorum* and with the original *Ars moriendi*, which are worked in this way. The connexion of all three works with Zwolle is evident, as has been shewn by Mr Holtrop, from the fact that the blocks of the *Biblia pauperum* appear there in 1488; that a block of the *Canticum Canticorum* appears in the *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium* printed there in 1494; and that the closest reproduction of the original *Ars moriendi* is to be found in the *Sterfboeck* also printed at Zwolle in 1488. I may here mention another point serving to connect the latter two books with one another. In Trinity College Library in Dublin I found in November 1869 an imperfect copy of the *Ars moriendi*, patched here and there with shreds of *another copy* of the same work and of a copy of the *Canticum Canticorum*, a fact which points to waste sheets of these two works having been in the same binder's office, and that probably not far from their original home. Surely in one copy or another of one of these works we may hope to find some manuscript note which will afford some clue to the real date of execution. Meantime however the books must remain where they are. If we keep hard facts before our eyes, and discourage frivolous speculation, we are all the better prepared to catch the true significance of any fresh fact, the moment it is presented to us.

The same method applies to the *Speculum* and its kindred books, only here we have been more fortunate. I am compelled to leave the *Speculum* at Utrecht until I know anything positive to the contrary, because it is at Utrecht that the cuts first appear, cut up into pieces, in a book printed by Veldener at that place in 1481. Without further information it would have been necessary to place the printer of the *Speculum* last among the Utrecht presses and to affix as his date (before 1481). But there is such an unmistakeably close resemblance between seven several founts of type of which Mr Holtrop has given facsimiles in his *Monuments*, that it is impossible not to investigate a little further. The types of the *Yliada* and of the *Ludovicus de Roma* being found in the same volume, there can be no doubt that they belonged to the same press. In comparing the *Donatuses* in the *Ludovicus* type with those in the *Yliada* type, the working of the former (uneven edges,

&c.) claims priority over the working of the latter, so far as we can judge by the ordinary laws of investigating such matters. Further, Mr Holtrop notices that some capitals of the Ludovicus type are identical with some used in the Facetiae morales which serves to connect these two. Again, the type of the Facetiae morales bears such a close resemblance to that of the stray sheet in what is called the mixed Dutch edition of the Speculum, that these two again must be connected. Lastly, it is but natural to believe that the stray sheet in the Dutch Speculum should have been printed at the same press as the rest of the book, however difficult it may be to assign the true cause of the printer's using a different type for this sheet. Here then we have a distinct sequence of types from that of the Speculum to that of the Yliada, and I have numbered them accordingly. As the Speculum compels us to place them at Utrecht, and before 1481, so the Yliada enables us to throw back the date of execution at least to 1471—74. Mr Holtrop mentions that the Hague copy of the Tractatus de salute corporis et animae and Yliada was bought by a certain Abbat Conrad for the library of his house; and as the Abbat in question was Abbat only from 1471 to 1474, the book cannot have been printed later than 1471—74; and this is at present the only date which we can use for our purposes. It is a singular circumstance that this one fact should compel us to place the printer of the Speculum at the head of the Dutch printers, though it only just allows him to take precedence of Ketelaer and Leempt. Can no evidence be produced from any of the copies of any of these books now remaining, which will throw additional light on this point? If the Dutch antiquaries interested in these matters would but bestow upon the investigation of downright facts a tithe of the energy which they have devoted to speculation upon possibilities for more than a century past, our knowledge would be in a very different state at present. It is to be hoped that Dr Van der Linde's lucid statement of facts lately published may produce some fruit; though it is hardly reasonable to suppose that the accumulated cobwebs of three hundred years can be swept away in a day.

Many specimens of early printing have been recovered from the bindings of other books; and these sometimes afford a very valuable evidence as to their history. Such fragments in the binder's hands are either sheets of books which have been used up and thrown away, and may be called *binder's waste*; or else they are spoiled

sheets or unused proofs from a printer's office, and may be called *printer's waste*. In early times the printers were frequently their own binders; many instances can be found to confirm Mr Holtrop's interesting notice of Veldener being his own bookbinder. It becomes therefore a matter of considerable importance to use all endeavours to ascertain where the volume was bound which contains any such fragments. If a fragment is found printed only on one side it has hitherto been described as "a remarkably interesting specimen of anopisthographic typography, probably executed in the infancy of the art, &c., &c.," instead of which it is simply a proof-sheet of the most commonplace description; and in no case does it seem to have inspired the discoverer to follow up the scent, or to inform the world of the one single fact which might give his discovery any real value. Surely there must be some trace of the binders who used some of the many fragments now existing in Holland, such as the Enschedé Abecedarium and the Donatus fragment in the same type, or any of the innumerable fragments of Donatuses and Doctrinals which exist in various collections. If it is not thought unreasonable to spend large sums of money upon such specimens, it seems at least reasonable to devote a little trouble towards ascertaining what they really are. This portion of the enquiry, however, seems at present almost wholly unattempted even in Holland.

HENRY BRADSHAW.

CAMBRIDGE,

June, 1871.

LIST OF COUNTRIES

SHOWING THE PLACE OCCUPIED BY

HOLLAND

AS REGARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF TYPOGRAPHY,

SO FAR AS HAS YET BEEN ASCERTAINED FROM DATED DOCUMENTS.

1. Germany (15 Nov. 1454).
2. Italy (29 Oct. 1465).
3. France (1470).
4. Holland (1471—73).
5. Belgium (1473).
6. Spain (23 Febr. 1475).
7. England (18 Nov. 1477).
8. Denmark (1482).
9. Sweden (20 Dec. 1483).

LIST OF TOWNS.

HOLLAND (1471—73).

1. Utrecht (1471—73).
2. Deventer (1477).
3. Delft (10 Jan. 1477).
4. Gouda (24 May 1477).
5. St Maartensdijk in Zeeland (Nov. 1478).
6. Nijmegen (23 Aug. 1479).
7. Zwolle (22 Dec. 1479).
8. Hasselt in Overijssel (1480).
9. Leiden (1483).
10. Kuilenburg (6 March 1483).
11. Haarlem (10 Dec. 1483).
12. 's Hertogenbosch (1484).
13. Schoonhoven (28 Febr. 1495).
14. Schiedam (1498).
15. Unknown places.

LIST OF PRESSES.

HOLLAND (1471—73).

1. UTRECHT (1471—73).

1. Printer of the *Speculum* (not later than 1471—74).
2. Nic. Ketelaer and Gher. de Leempt (1473).
3. Wilh. Hees (1475).
4. Printer of the 32-line *Gesta Romanorum* ().
5. Printer of the *Cambridge Pamphilus* ().
6. Joh. Veldener, from Louvain, Second press (4 Nov. 1478).
7. G. t. or G. l. (7 May 1479).

2. DEVENTER (1477).

1. Ric. Paffroed de Colonia, First press (1477).
2. Jac. de Breda, First press (1486).
3. Ric. Paffroed, Second press (9 Aug. 1488).
4. Jac. de Breda, Second press (31 Aug. 1489).

3. DELFT (10 Jan. 1477).

1. Jac. Jacobszoon van der Meer and Maur. Yemantszoon van Middelborch (10 Jan. 1477).
2. Jac. Jacobszoon van der Meer (12 Febr. 1480).
3. Chr. Snellaert (2 Nov. 1488).
4. Hen. Eckert van Homberch (15 Apr. 1498).

4. GOUDA (24 May 1477).

1. Ger. Leeu, First press (24 May 1477).
2. Ger. Leeu, Second press (13 Dec. 1483).
3. Printer of the *Teghen die strael der minnen* (23 June 1484).
4. Printer of the *Indulgence of 1486* (1486).
5. Gotfr. de Os (13 Nov. 1486).
6. G. D. ().
7. Govaert van Ghemen, First press (before 24 March 1490).

8. Printer of the *Opus minus primae partis* ().
9. Printer of the *Blaffert* (1489).
10. *Collacie-Broeders* (10 June 1496).
5. **ST MAARTENSDIJK IN ZEELAND** (Nov. 1478).
 1. Pieter Werrecoren (Nov. 1478).
6. **NIJMEGEN** (23 Aug. 1479).
 1. Printer of the *Epistola Engelberti* (23 Aug. 1479).
7. **ZWOLLE** (22 Dec. 1479).
 1. Peter van Os, of Breda, First press (22 Dec. 1479).
 2. Peter van Os, of Breda, Second press (26 May 1484).
 3. Printer of the *Biblia pauperum* (before 1488).
8. **HASSELT IN OVERLIJSSEL** (1480).
 1. Peregrinus Bermentlo, First press (1480).
 2. Peregrinus Bermentlo, Second press (1488).
9. **LEIDEN** (1483).
 1. Heynricus Heynrici (1483).
 2. Govaert van Ghemen, from Gouda, Second press (before 24 March 1490).
 3. Cornelis Kers (12 Apr. 1494).
 4. Hugo Janszoen van Woerden, First press (10 Dec. 1494).
 5. Hugo Janszoen van Woerden, Second press (1498).
10. **KUILENBURG** (6 March 1483).
 1. Joh. Veldener, from Utrecht, Third press (6 March 1483).
11. **HAARLEM** (10 Dec. 1483).
 1. Jac. Bellaert (10 Dec. 1483).
 2. Joh. Andreae (1 March 1486).
12. **'s HERTOGENBOSCH** (1484).
 1. Ger. Leempt de Novimagio (1484).
13. **SCHOONHOVEN** (28 Febr. 1495).
 1. Canons of St Michael's in den Hem (28 Febr. 1495).
14. **SCHIEDAM** (1498).
 1. Printer of the *Vita Lydwinae* (1498).

15. UNKNOWN PLACES.

1. Printer of the BRH 651 (MMW) Mandaville.
2. Printer of the Enschedé Abecedarium.
3. Printer of the MMW Liber Alexandri.
4. Printer of the Deventer Donatus (woodcut in printer's ink).
5. Printer of the BRH 12 Donatus fragments.
6. Printer of the Komst van Keyser Frederijck te Trier.
7. Printer of the Freeska Landriucht.

Qu. if in Holland?

8. Printer of the Dialogi Orationes et Tractatus.
9. Printer of the Ant. Haneron de Epistolis.
10. Printer of the Folio Doctrinale.

LIST OF FOUNTS OF TYPE AND WOODCUT DEVICES.

HOLLAND (1471—73).

UTRECHT (1471—73).

1. *Printer of the Speculum* (not later than 1471—74):

Type 1 (). Pl. 17, *Speculum* (unmixed Latin edition).

Type 2 (). Pl. 19, *Speculum* (leaves 49 and 60 of mixed Dutch edition).

Type 3 (). Pl. 25, *Facetiae morales*.

Type 4 (). Pl. 23 a, *Ludovicus de Roma*.

Type 5 (not later than 1471—74). Pl. 23 b, *Pii secundi Tractatus de mulieribus pravis*.

Type 6 (). Pl. 31 a, *Donatus* fragment (BRH 556) in the Meerman-Westreenen Museum.

Type 7 (). Pl. 32 a, *Donatus* fragments at Uden.

Device. *None known*.

2. *Nic. Ketelaer and Gher. de Leempt* (1473):

Type 1 (1473). Pl. 37. 1, *Historia Scholastica*.

Device. *None known*.

3. *Wilh. Hees* (1475):

Type 1 (1475; Press 2, type 1 with additional ¶). Pl. 38. 1, *Anth. Haneron de coloribus verborum*.

Device. *None known*.

4. *Printer of the 32-line Gesta Romanorum* ():

Type 1 (Press 2, type 1 with additional J). Pl. 126 b, *Liber Alexandri magni*; but no sample of the additional J is here given. See Pl. 50* b, *Pamphilus*, line 2.

Device. *None known*.

5. *Printer of the Cambridge Pamphilus* ():

Type 1 (Press 4, type 1 with additional N). Pl. 50* b, Pamphilus (Wolfenbüttel copy of the quarto edition).

Device. *None known.*

6. *Joh. Veldener, from Louvain, Second press* (4 Nov. 1478):

Type 4 (brought from Louvain). See Pl. 47. 3 a, Fasciculus temporum. This type occurs as a supplementary type in the Dutch Fasciculus temporum of 1480; but no specimen of it is given among the Utrecht facsimiles.

Type 5 (4 Nov. 1478). Pl. 39. 1, Epistelen en Ewangelien of 1478.

Device 1 b (30 July 1479). Pl. 39. 2, Epistelen en Ewangelien of 1479.

Device 2 a (14 Febr. 1480). Pl. 39. 3, Dutch Fasciculus temporum.

7. *G. t. or G. l.* (7 May 1479):

Type 1 (7 May 1479). Pl. 41, Wech van Salicheit.

Device 1 (7 May 1479). Pl. 44. 2, Sielentroest of 7 May 1479.

Device 2 (10 Nov. 1479). Pl. 44. 3, Sielentroest of 10 Nov. 1479.

Device 3 (30 March 1480). Pl. 44. 1 e, Otten van Passau.

DEVENTER (1477).

1. *Ric. Paffroed de Colonia, First press* (1477):

Type 1 (1477). Pl. 64 a, Petri Bertorii Reductorium.

Type 2 (31 March 1479). Pl. 64 b, Dom. Sabinensis.

Device. *None known at this period.*

2. *Jacobus de Breda, First press* (1486):

Type 1 (Press 1, type 1). Pl. 66 a, Modus confitendi.

Type 2 (Press 1, type 2). Pl. 66 c, Boethius.

Device. *None known.*

3. *Ric. Paffroed, Second press* (9 Aug. 1488):

Type 3 (9 Aug. 1488). Pl. 64 d 1 (*imprint*), Jo. Synthen super prima parte Doctrinalis Alexandri.

Type 4 (9 Aug. 1488). Pl. 64 e (*text*), Somnium Scipionis.

Type 5 (9 Aug. 1488). Pl. 64 d 1 (*commentary*), Jo. Synthen super prima parte Doctrinalis Alexandri.

- Type 6 (24 Dec. 1490). Pl. 65 a (*title*), Stella clericorum.
 Type 7 (1491). Pl. 64 f 2 (*text*), Sermones Mich. de Hungaria.
 Type 8 (14 July 1495). Pl. 65 c (*text*), Farrago.
 Device 1 (24 Dec. 1490)¹. Pl. 65 a, Stella clericorum.
 Device 2 (). Pl. 65 b, Cato moralissimus.

4. *Jacobus de Breda, Second press* (31 Aug. 1489):

- Type 3 (31 Aug. 1489). Pl. 66 d 1 (*heading*), Aeneae Silvii Epistola de fortuna.
 Type 4 (31 Aug. 1489). Pl. 66 d 1 (*text, lines 1—5*), Aeneae Silvii Epistola de fortuna.
 Type 5 (31 Aug. 1489). Pl. 66 d 1 (*text, lines 6—10*), Aeneae Silvii Epistola de fortuna.
 Type 6 (1492). Pl. 66 e 2 (*imprint*), Doctrinale altum Alani.
 Type 7 (1492). Pl. 66 e 2 (*text*). Doctrinale altum Alani.
 Type 8 (1 March 1493). Pl. 66 f 2, Epistelen en Ewangelien.
 Device. *None known*.

DELFT (10 Jan. 1477).

1. *Jac. Jacobszoen van der Meer and Maur. Yemantszoen van Midelborch* (10 Jan. 1477):

- Type 1 (10 Jan. 1477). Pl. 81 a, Bible in duytsche.
 Device 1 (10 Jan. 1477). Pl. 81 a (*above the imprint*), Bible in duytsche.
 Device 2 (10 Jan. 1477). Pl. 81 a (*below the imprint*), Bible in duytsche.

2. *Jac. Jacobszoen van der Meer* (12 Febr. 1480):

- Type 1 a (Press 1, Type 1). Pl. 82 a, Die duytsche Souter.
 Type 1 b (1481; Type 1 a, only with different capitals). Pl. 82 b, Epistelen en Ewangelien of 1481.
 Type 2 (1482). Pl. 82 d 1, Somme ruyrael (*imprint*).
 Type 3 (4 Oct. 1486). Pl. 82 f 1, Epistelen en Ewangelien of 1486 (*title*).
 Type 4 (4 Oct. 1486). Pl. 82 g 2, De spiritu Gwidonis (*imprint*).
 Device 1 (12 Febr. 1480). Pl. 82 a 2, Die duytsche Souter.
 Device 2 (25 March 1486). Pl. 82 e, Die vier uterste (*imprint*).

¹ [Read Device 1 (4 May 1489), and Device 2 (4 May 1489). MS. correction by H. B.]

3. *Chr. Snellaert* 2 (Nov. 1488):

- Type 1 (Press 2, Type 1 b). Pl. 83 a 3, *Dyalogus der creaturen* (*imprint*).
- Type 2 (Press 2, Type 2). Pl. 83 a 1, *Physiologus* (*title*).
- Type 3 (Press 2, Type 3). Pl. 83 a 1, *Dyalogus der creaturen* (*title*).
- Type 4 (Press 2, Type 4). Pl. 84 d 2, *Dionysius de particulari judicio dei* (*text and imprint*).
- Type 5 (10 Aug. 1491). Pl. 83 e 2, *Jhesus minnenbrief* (*text and imprint*).
- Type 6 (17 July 1494). Pl. 83 f, *Van den seven droefheden onser liever vrouwen*.
- Type 7 (14 Apr. 1495). Pl. 84 c 1, *Antidotarius animae* (*title*).
- Type 8 (14 Apr. 1495). Pl. 84 c 2, *Antidotarius animae* (*imprint*).
- Type 9 (6 June 1495). Pl. 84 b 2 (*text*), *Alphabetum divini amoris* (*text*).
- Type 10 (6 June 1495). Pl. 84 f, *Missale Trajectense* (*imprint*).
- Device 1 (2 Nov. 1488). Pl. 83 a 2 (*centre cut*), *Dyalogus der creaturen*.
- Device 2 (10 Aug. 1491). Pl. 83 e 3 (*centre cut*), *Jhesus minnenbrief*.

4. *Hen. Eckert van Hombergh*, *First press* (15 Apr. 1498):

- Type 1 (Press 3, Type 2). Pl. 85 a 2 (*over Device*), *Leven ons liefs heren J.C.*
- Type 2 (Press 3, Type 6). Pl. 85 a 1, *Leven ons liefs heren J.C.* (*text*).
- Device 1 a (Press 3, Device 1). Pl. 85 b 3 (*centre cut*), *Pas sionael*.
- Device 2 (Press 3, Device 2). Pl. 85 a 2, *Leven ons liefs heren J.C.*

GOUDA (24 May 1477).

1. *Ger. Leeu*, *First press* (24 May 1477):

- Type 1 (24 May 1477). Pl. 67. 1, *Liden en passie ons heren J.C.*

Type 2 (1477, after 10 Sept.). Pl. 67. 2, Ewangelien van den gheheelen jaer.

Device 1 (10 May 1478). Pl. 68. 1, Passionael, somerstuc.

Device 2 (3 June 1480). Pl. 68. 4, Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus of 1480.

2. *Ger. Leeu, Second press* (13 Dec. 1483):

Type 3 (13 Dec. 1483). See Pl. 79 d 2, Breviarium regularium (*imprint*); but no specimen of this type is given among the Gouda facsimiles.

Type 4 (11 June 1484). Pl. 71 4, Van den seven sacramenten.

Type 5 (11 June 1484). See Pl. 102 a, lines 1—8, Cato cum commento (*commentary*), but no specimen of this type is given among the Gouda facsimiles.

Device. *None known at this period.*

3. *Printer of the Teghen die strael der minnen* (23 June 1484):

Type 1 (23 June 1484). Pl. 33 b, Teghen die strael der minnen.

Device. *None known.*

4. *Printer of the Indulgence of 1486* (1486):

Type 1 (1486). Pl. 78 (*headings*), Raym. Peraudi Litterae indulgentiarum (*headings*).

Type 2 (1486). Pl. 78 (*text*), Raym. Peraudi Litterae indulgentiarum (*text*).

Device. *None known.*

5. *Gotfridus de Os* (13 Nov. 1486):

Type 1 (13 Nov. 1486). Pl. 72 a 3, Opusculum quintupertitum grammaticale (*imprint*).

Type 2 (13 Nov. 1486). Pl. 72 a 2, Opusculum quintupertitum grammaticale (*Explicit*).

Device. *None known.*

6. *G.D.* ():

Type 1 (). Pl. 75 a 2, Le Chevalier délibéré.

Type 2 (). Pl. 77 a 3, Historie Godevaerts van Boloen.

Device 1 (). Pl. 75 a 2, Le Chevalier délibéré.

Device 2 (). Pl. 77 a 3, Historie Godevaerts van Boloen.

7. *Govaert van Ghemen, First press* (before 24 March 1490) :

Type 1 (). Pl. 73, *Lantsloet ende Sandrijn*.
 Device. *None known at this period.*

8. *Printer of the Opus minus primae partis* () :

Type 1 (). See facsimile (*text*) at the end of the present List, from the only known fragment, at the Hague.

Type 2 (). See facsimile (*commentary*) at the end of the present List, from the only known fragment, at the Hague.

Device. *None known.*

9. *Printer of the Blaffert* (1489) :

Type 1 (1489). Pl. 79 b 1, *Blaffert (text)*.

Type 2 (1489). Pl. 79 b 3, *Blaffert (Van nobels Haerlem Delff)*.

Device. *None known.*

10. *Collacie-Broeders* (10 June 1496) :

Type 1 (Press 9, Type 1). Pl. 80 a 3, *Leven van Liedwy (text and imprint)*.

Type 2 (Press 9, Type 2). Pl. 80 d, *Breviarium Trajectense (imprint)*.

Type 3 (10 June 1496). Pl. 80 a 1 (*line* 1), *Leven van Liedwy (title, line 1, O liedwi)*.

Type 4 (3 Oct. 1496). Pl. 80 b 2, *Devote ghetiden van den leven ende der passien J.C.*

Device 1 (3 Oct. 1496). Pl. 83 b 2, *Devote ghetiden van den leven ende der passien J.C.*

ST. MAARTENSDIJK IN ZEELAND (Nov. 1478).

1. *Pieter Werrecoren* (Nov. 1478) :

Type 1 (Nov. 1478). Pl. 86, *Der Zielen troest*.

Device. *None known.*

NIJMEGEN (23 Aug. 1479).

1. *Printer of the Epistola Engelberti Cultificis* (23 Aug. 1479) :

Type 1 (23 Aug. 1479). Pl. 87 a 4, *Epistola de symonia vitanda*.

Device. *None known.*

ZWOLLE (22 Dec. 1479).

1. *Pet. van Os of Breda, First press* (22 Dec. 1479):

Type 1 (22 Dec. 1479). Pl. 88 a, *Modus confitendi*.

Type 2 (1479). Pl. 89 c, *S. Bonaventurae Sermones*.

Type 3 (before 26 May 1484). Pl. 90 d, *Caroli Viruli Epistolae*.

Type 4 (before 26 May 1484). Pl. 90 e (*commentary*), Joh. de Garlandia Cornutus cum commento (*commentary*).

Device. *None known at this period.*

2. *Pet. van Os of Breda, Second press* (26 May 1484):

Type 5 (26 May 1484). Pl. 90 a, *Psalterium* of 1486.

Type 6 (19 Nov. 1490). Pl. 94 a 1 (*line* 1), *Baptistae Mantuani Secundae Parthenices opus* (*title, line* 1).

Type 7 (30 Apr. 1491). Pl. 90 c (*text, except line* 1), *Rosarium B. V. Mariae* (*text*).

Type 8 (27 March 1493). Pl. 90 b, *Epistelen en Ewangelien*.

Type 9 (1494). Pl. 91 a 3 (*text*), *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium* (*text*).

Type 10 (1494). Pl. 50* c (*lines* 2—4), *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium*.

Type 11 (1499). See Pl. 94 e (*imprint*), *Aristoteles de moribus ad Eudemium* (*imprint*), for this type as used by Tyman van Os; but no specimen is given among the facsimiles of the types of Peter van Os.

Device 1 (26 May 1484). Pl. 90 a, *Psalterium* of 1486.

Device 2 a (26 May 1484). Pl. 92 a, *Gesten van Romen*.

Device 2 b (21 July 1485). Pl. 92 b, *Der Sielen troest*.

Device 3 (1500). See Pl. 94 e, *Aristoteles de moribus ad Eudemium*, for this device as used by Tyman van Os; but no specimen is given among the facsimiles of the devices used by P. van Os.

3. *Printer of the Biblia Pauperum* (before 1488):

No type. Woodcut printing. Pl. 3, *Biblia pauperum*.

HASSELT IN OVERIJSEL (1480).

1. *Peregrinus Bermentlo, First press* (1480):

Type 1 (1480). Pl. 96, *Gesta Romanorum*.

Device. *None known at this period.*

2. *Peregrinus Bermentlo, Second press* (1488):

Type 2 (). Pl. 97, *Volmaecte clargie*.

Type 3 (1488). Pl. 98 a, *Die passie ende dat liden ons heeren J.C.*

Type 4 (2 Jan. 1490). Pl. 99 (*imprint*), S. Jheronimus Boeck.

Device 1 (2 Jan. 1490). Pl. 99, S. Jheronimus Boeck.

LEIDEN (1483).

1. *Heynricus Heynrici* (1483):

Type 1 (1483). Pl. 112 a, *Epistelen en Ewangelien*.

Device 1 (4 June 1484). Pl. 112 b, *Tho. de Aquino Tractatus de humanitate Christi*.

2. *Govaert van Ghemen, from Gouda, Second press* (before 24 March 1490):

Type 1 (brought from Gouda). See facsimile at the end of the present List, from the Cambridge copy.

Device 1 (before 24 March 1490). See facsimile at the end of the present List, from the Cambridge copy.

3. *Cornelis Kers* (12 Apr. 1494):

Type 1 (12 Apr. 1494). Pl. 112 c, *Seer minnelycke woorden die O.L. Heere Jhesus hadde met sijne moeder Maria*.

Device. *None known.*

4. *Hugo Janszoen van Woerden, First press* (10 Dec. 1494):

Type 1 (10 Dec. 1494). Pl. 112 d, *Ghetiden van onser liever Vrouwen*.

Device. *None known at this period.*

5. *Hugo Janszoen van Woerden, Second press* (1498):

Type 2 (1498). Pl. 112 e, *Oefeninghe van den leven ons heren J.C.*

Device 1 (1500). Pl. 112 f 2, *Dat leven O.L. Vrouwen*.

KUILENBURG (6 March 1483).

1. *Joh. Veldener, from Utrecht, Third press* (6 March 1483):

Type 5 (brought from Utrecht). Pl. 115. 2, Spieghel onser behoudenisse.

Type 6 (1484). Pl. 116. 1 a, Kruidboeck in dietsche (*large type*).

Device 1 b (brought from Utrecht). Pl. 115. 2, Spieghel onser behoudenisse.

Device 2 b (1484). See Pl. 116. 2 b (*border*) among the Kuilenburg facsimiles, though this particular book belongs to Veldener's fourth press, after his return to Louvain.

HAARLEM (10 Dec. 1483).

1. *Jac. Bellaert* (10 Dec. 1483):

Type 1 (10 Dec. 1483). Pl. 34 a, Dat lijden ende die passie ons heeren J.C.

Device 1 (10 Dec. 1483). Pl. 34 c (*centre cut*), Jac. de Theramo der Sonderen troest.

Device 2 (15 Febr. 1484). Pl. 35 b 2 (*centre cut*), Jac. de Theramo der Sonderen troest (*the mark in the right-hand window*).

2. *Joh. Andreae* (1 March 1486):

Type 1 (1 March 1486). Pl. 36 a, Formula noviciorum.

Device 1 (31 May 1486). Pl. 36 b 5, Hen. de Hassia Tractatus de consolatione theologiae.

'S HERTOGENBOSCH (1484).

1. *Ger Leempt de Novimagio* (1484):

Type 1 (1484). Pl. 59 c, Dat boeck van Tondalus vysioen.

Type 2 (1487). Pl. 117 a 2, Proverbia seriosa (*text*).

Type 3 (). Pl. 117 b (*heading*), Liber de vita religiosorum (*heading*).

Device. *None known*.

SCHOONHOVEN (28 Febr. 1495).

- 1.
- Canons of St Michael's in den Hem*
- (28 Febr. 1495):

Type 1 (28 Febr. 1495). Pl. 118 a, Breviarium Trajectense.
 Device. *None known.*

SCHIEDAM (1498).

- 1.
- Printer of the Vita Lydwinae*
- (1498):

Type 1 (1498). Pl. 119 a, Vita Lydwinae.
 Device 1 (1498). Pl. 119 a 1 (*lower cut*), Vita Lydwinae.

UNKNOWN PLACES.

- 1.
- Printer of the BRH 651 (MMW) Dutch Mandaville*
- (Qu. Ger. Leeu, at Gouda before 1477?):

Type 1. Pl. 121, Mandaville.
 Device. *None known.*

- 2.
- Printer of the Enschedé Abecedarium*
- ()::

Type 1. Pl. 12, Abecedarium.
 Device. *None known.*

- 3.
- Printer of the MMW Liber Alexandri*
- (Qu. Ger. Leempt before 1479?):

Type 1. Pl. 126 a, Liber Alexandri Magni.
 Device. *None known.*

- 4.
- Printer of the Deventer woodcut Donatus*
- ()::

No type. Woodcut printing in printer's ink. Pl. 10 a, Donatus.
 Device. *None known.*

- 5.
- Printer of the BRH 12 Donatus fragments*
- (Qu. G. de Os at Gouda before 1484?):

Type 1 (). Pl. 33 a, Donatus fragments, BRH 12.
 Device. *None known.*

- 6.
- Printer of the Komst van Keyser Frederyck te Trier*
- (not before 1486):

Type 1 (not before 1486). Pl. 119 c, Komst van Keyser Frederyck te Trier.

Type 2 (). Pl. 119 b, *Die jeeste van Julius Caesar*.
Device. *None known*.

7. *Printer of the BRH 555 Freeska Landriucht* ():

Type 1 (). Pl. 124, *Freeska Landriucht*.
Device. *None known*.

8. *Printer of the BRH 648 (MMW) Dialogi, Orationes et Tractatus*
():

Type 1. Pl. 127, *Dialogi, Orationes et Tractatus*.
Device. *None known*.

Qu. if printed in Holland at all?

9. *Printer of the BRH 650 (MMW) Ant. Haneron de Epistolis*
():

Type 1. Pl. 128, *Ant. Haneron de epistolis brevibus edendis*.

Device. *None known*.

Qu. if printed in Holland at all?

10. *Printer of the MMW Folio Doctrinale* ():

Type 1. Pl. 129, *Doctrinale Alexandri Galli*, fragments in the Meerman-Westreenen Museum.

Qu. if printed in Holland at all?

NOTE RELATING TO THE FACSIMILES
WHICH ACCOMPANY THIS LIST.

1. Epistelen ende ewangelien. Printed at Gouda, by the Printer of the Teghen die strael der minnen, 23 June 1484. Quarto.

A facsimile is here given of the page which contains the imprint, in order that others may have the opportunity of identifying the type with that of the Teghen die strael der minnen, which Mr Holtrop has figured in his *Monuments typographiques*, Pl. 33 b, as the production of an unknown press. The copy in the University Library at Cambridge, from which the facsimile is taken, formed part of the De Meyer collection, which was sold at Ghent in November 1869.

2. Alexandri Galli Opus minus primae partis, cum commento. Printed probably at Gouda, by Gotfridus de Os or Govaert van Ghemen, about 1486—1489. Quarto.

The facsimile here given is of the two outer pages of the half-sheet which is the only remaining fragment of the volume now known to exist. The type of the text and the woodcut initial, are known from the other Gouda books of this date; but the type of the commentary is only found here. It closely resembles Gerard Leeu's Type 5, but it is nevertheless different. It is somewhat curious that no facsimile of it should appear in the *Monuments typographiques*, because it is mentioned by Mr Holtrop in his text, and the fragment belongs to the Royal Library at the Hague. It is owing to the kindness of Mr Campbell, the present Librarian, that I have been enabled to examine it at my leisure.

3. Den gheesteliken minnebrief die Jhesus cristus coninck der glorien seyndt tot synre bruyt der minnender zielen. Printed at Leyden, by Govaert van Ghemen, probably about 1488. Octavo.

The existence of this press was altogether unknown when Mr Holtrop published his *Monuments*. A copy was discovered in the Meulman collection, and at that sale passed into the Royal Library at the Hague. A brief notice of the book was sent by Mr Holtrop to M. Paul Deschamps, and will be found in the Supplement to his *Dictionnaire de Géographie* (*Supplément au Manuel de Brunet*), p. 1450. Another copy since discovered is now in the University Library at Cambridge. The device is interesting, because it appears that the device of the Collacie-Broeders used at Gouda in 1496 is precisely a reverse copy of this, only that the arms of Leyden have been exchanged for those of Gouda. The facsimile represents the unbound book, as it lies open, shewing the first and last pages, with the title and illustrative woodcut on one, and the imprint and device on the other.

na vā verre Doe riep hi dien mēsche tot hē en
 vraghede hē vā sinē leuen doe seide hi dz hi eē
 sondaer gheweest hadde en dat hi daer in dē ker-
 kē hoerde predikē vā dē oēfermherticheit gods
 En god had hē betrou ghegheuen also dat hi
 gheweent hadde voer syn sondē: hier om laet
 ons dicwile ter kerckē gā en biddē gode o ver-
 ghifnisse op dat wi moghē comē na dit leuen
 int ewighe leuen Dat moet ons gonnē die vā-
 der die sone die heylighe gheest **Amen**

Hier gaen wt die epistelen en die euāgelien
 mettē sonnendaechlen sermoenē vanden ghe-
 heelen iaer en vanden heylighen En syn ghe-
 prēt ter goude in hollāt Int iaer ons heren m-
 cccc en lxxxiii: op sinte ians baptistē auont

Hier beghint die tafel vā desen teghewoer-
 dighē boecke

Des eersten sonnendach inden aduent	
epistel euangelium en sermoen	i
Des woensdaghes epistel euangelium	iiij
Des vridaghes euangelium	v
Opten tweedē sonnēdach indē aduent epistel	
euangelium ende sermōen	v

Capitū primum de declinaciōe nomīn

Si pueri primo nequeāt attēdere plane

Hic tamē attēdat qui doctores uice longos ē

Atqz legēs pueris layca lingua referabit

Et pueris etiā pars maxima plane patebit

Posset aliqz dicere Valeader tuū doctrinale ē multū difficile. Ideo pueri nō valebūt intelligere. Ad hoc respōdet Aleader licet pueri p se nō poterūt intelligere istā doctrinā. tñ eorū lectores et pceptores debēt intelligere et explanare seu declarare eis hāc doctrinā lingua layca. i. materna. et tūc nō erit difficultas intelligēdi imo sic maxima ps libri patebit eis.

Ores in primis quas per casus variabiles

De leuius poterite declinare docebo

In ista pre incipit auctor dare ordinē libro suo ipm p capitula distinguēdo. Et dicit sic ego docebo declinare vt leuius poteritis in primis. au pmo capitulo voces qz variabiles. i. declinabiles. casz qz diceret p mū capitulū erit de declinaciōibz nomīn

Istis cōfinē retinēt heteroclitica sedem

Dicit heteroclitica noiā retinēt sedē pfinē. i. locū primū istis declinacionibz supdictis. i. scdm capitulū erit de heteroclitis. i. nominibz variomō declinabilibz ibi hec tibi signabis

Atqz gradus triplicis collatio subditur istis

Dicit collatio. i. cōpacio triplicis gō⁹ subdit^r. i. immediate subiūgit^r istis s. heteroclitis. Ad hoc ē terciū capitū erit de cōpaciōibz ibi hūc gōibz tñis

Cuiqz sit articulo que vox sociāda notabo

Dicit ego notabo q vox sit sociāda cuiqz articulo. i. p quocūqz articulo queqz vox sit declināda hoc ē quartū capitū erit de nominibz nomīn. ibi Inqptū potero

Hinc de preteritis petrum sequar atz supinis

Op⁷ minu⁷

primæptis

Et paniota meu⁹ mea scādala dicere pōptus

Eneia hē pōptus mō seris

Eneia hē pōptus mō seris

Eneia hē pōptus mō seris

Eneia hē pōptus mō seris

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Den gheestelike minnebrief die
 ihesus cristus comicht der glorie
 sendt tot spise bruyt der minne-
 der zielen.



i
a

alle oye ghene die mij mit gansse
 herten begheerende syn.
 Amen.



Gheprent te leyden bi mi
 Gouaert van ghemen.

XV. ON THE OLDEST WRITTEN REMAINS OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE¹.

IN bringing this subject before the Society there need be no fear of my obtruding any crude philological speculations upon your attention; but it seems to me due to the members of the Antiquarian Society that I should bring first before them the facts of what is certainly one of the most satisfactory discoveries which it has been my lot to make in hunting through the various libraries in the University during the past fifteen years.

Rather more than a year ago I heard that Mr Whitley Stokes was likely to be soon returning from India for a short stay. Seeing that he is far the most distinguished Celtic scholar that we have, I thought it might be practicable to find some traces of one or other of the branches of the Celtic stock of languages, some scraps possibly of old Irish, which had as yet escaped the researches of antiquaries and philologists, and which I could offer as a welcome to one who has done so much to elucidate the scanty fragments of these early literatures which have come down to us. For this purpose I proposed to myself to make a deliberate raid upon the library of Archbishop Parker at Corpus Christi College. Having gone through Nasmith's Catalogue and taken notes of all the manuscripts described as being of an early date, '*venerandae antiquitatis*,' '*litteris antiquioribus Saxonice*,' &c., &c., my wishes were met by Mr Lewis, the Librarian, with his usual courtesy. On going to the Library, and taking down, one after another, the books of which I had taken a note, it was not long before

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, November 20, 1871.

I came upon a copy of Martianus Capella, one of the most favourite writers of the early middle ages. Here, among the crowd of Latin glosses, it was easy to distinguish a few words, not of Irish, which I at first thought I might find, but of unmistakeable Old Welsh, written in a handwriting apparently as early as any remains of the Welsh language known to be in existence, and exhibiting forms familiar enough to students of Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica*, but presenting an appearance to the eye very different from that of modern Welsh.

A subsequent careful examination of the book has enabled me to extract about 140 glosses, or vernacular explanations of hard or singular words; and it is possible that a second reading of the manuscript, upon which I am now engaged, may yield a few more.

To some persons the interest of a discovery of this kind may be difficult to appreciate; but a very few words will I think be sufficient to point out the nature of the value which such glosses possess, even for the historical antiquary; and it is on this ground only that I have been bold enough to bring the subject before our Society.

The mass of Welsh literature which we possess goes back only to the twelfth century. The oldest of the 'Four Ancient Books of Wales,' so ably edited by Mr William Skene, is the Black Book of Caermarthen; and this cannot be placed earlier than the latter half of the twelfth century. Now there is a considerable mass of poetry attributed to British bards of the sixth century; but the advocates of the antiquity of these poems have had many difficulties to contend with, besides that of bridging over the gap of six centuries, in which no manuscripts of these poems are forthcoming. One well known writer has even been rash enough to assert that the very rhythm in which some of the poems are written can only have been borrowed from the Norman writers of the thirteenth century; an assertion which at once met with well merited castigation at the hands of Dr Guest. Under these circumstances it is desirable to collect every sample of the language in its earlier state which can anywhere be found, and which we can be sure was written as we now have it before the twelfth century. Every word is of

value as helping to show the changes through which the language passed during that period; and though it would be a fruitless as well as a wholly unscholarlike occupation, to attempt to rewrite the poems in a supposed dialect and orthography of the sixth century, yet a careful study of what remains may enable us to advance a few steps towards seeing in what way poems of a very early date may agree with, and must differ from, the texts as we now have them.

Of all that remains to us of Old Welsh, except the proper names and a few words scattered through early manuscripts of Latin Chronicles, &c., the sources may be counted on the fingers of one hand; so far as has been hitherto known. They are these:

(1) The Gospel of St Chad at Lichfield, containing some documents in mixed Latin and Welsh, written on the margins of the volume, said to be late viiith or early ixth century. This MS. was described, and the entries printed, by Wanley in his *Catalogus* (Fol. Oxon. 1705).

(2) A MS. at Oxford (Auct. F. 4. 32) containing a fragment of Euty chius *de conjugationibus Latinis*, a fragment of Ovid's *Art of Love*, some *Excerpta de mensuris calculi*, the Runic alphabet of Nemnivus, and other pieces, with a number of Welsh glosses on a few of the pages, said to be late viiith or early ixth century. The MS. was described by Wanley, and the glosses, &c. printed, with a commentary, by Zeuss in his *Grammatica Celtica*.

(3) One leaf at Luxemburg, containing a number of Welsh glosses on Latin words, said to be of the same date as the preceding. Discovered by Mone in 1851, and printed, with a commentary, by Zeuss.

(4) Another MS. at Oxford (Bodl. 572) containing some Welsh glosses on a Latin text, said to be of the xth or xiith century. The MS. was described by Wanley, and the glosses printed, with a commentary, by Zeuss. The whole text, with the glosses, has been printed by Mr Stokes in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1861 (8vo. London, 1862).

(5) A MS. of Juvenecus (Ff. 4. 42) in the University Library here, said to be of the eighth or ninth century, containing

a number of Welsh glosses, besides two Welsh and four Latin poems in a handwriting which cannot well be later than the latter half of the ninth century. The MS. was used by Lhuyd in his *Archæologia* (Fol. Oxon. 1707); and all the Welsh in it has been printed, with a commentary, by Mr Stokes, in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1861 (8vo. London, 1862), art. XXII. This MS. is of course far the most valuable relic yet discovered, for the literature as distinguished from the language, because the Welsh poems are in precisely the rhythm of those triplets which, according to the reckless assertion of Mr Thomas Wright, cannot possibly have been written earlier than the thirteenth century. Some years ago I was enabled, from the Latin poems which are found at the end of the volume, to fix the date of the writing with tolerable certainty to the middle or latter half of the ninth century. More recently I have had the satisfaction of seeing this confirmed by Mr Thomas Wright himself, on the occasion of his last visit to the University Library; and it is the more satisfactory, because he did so on ground where he is unquestionably a good judge; and, moreover, he was perfectly unconscious of the bearing which his remarks had upon the question. On the last page of the book there is a strange Latin rhythm, a kind of Sequence, written as prose on the spaces left vacant by the Latin poems written by the scribe of the Welsh triplets. This Sequence is in the Hiberno-Saxon character, easily dated by any one at all conversant with Anglo-Saxon documents. Mr Wright, without a moment's hesitation, described it as good Anglo-Saxon writing of the tenth century. I asked no more questions. I knew he was familiar with such writing, and it was sufficient evidence that the writing which *necessarily* preceded this on the same page, could not very well have been written in the thirteenth century.

I need hardly say here that the grammatical forms in the poems in the Juvenius MS. are such as could not have been written in the thirteenth century. Such as they are, the poems are extremely difficult to understand, and they are a *crux* to our very best Celtic scholars. The glosses, on the other hand, for the most part, help to explain themselves, because, from their very

nature, they usually accompany their exact Latin equivalents. And hence it is evident that every additional word discovered in the shape of a gloss is so much clear gain, because it affords a sound basis for a knowledge of the grammar and orthography of the language as it was in that early period. The Irish missionaries were so abundant on the Continent in early times, that the traces of their language are to be found scattered all over Europe. But with the Welsh it was far otherwise; and having been driven into a corner instead of being scattered abroad, the remains of their early language and literature are now as rare as they are precious. It is, therefore, a source of particular satisfaction to me that the discovery of these fresh remains, the glosses on the Martianus Capella, which are apparently as early as any yet known, should have been made within the precincts of our own University, which has already yielded so many treasures of this kind in quite recent times.

[Since this was in type, I have been reminded that some other work on the same subject, which never went beyond a 'revise,' is really an appendix to this paper. It seems to be full of interest; and as Mr Bradshaw promised more than once to let it appear among the *Communications* of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, I have decided to print it in an Appendix to the present volume. It must of course be taken as it is, and should not be criticized as if it had received his final corrections: but his reason for suppressing it was, as far as I know, entirely that he thought there was too much about himself. J.]

XVI. ON THE COLLECTION OF PORTRAITS BELONGING TO THE UNIVERSITY BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR¹.

EIGHT portraits are perhaps scarcely enough to deserve the name of a collection. But, as the pictures, which have been stowed away since the alterations in the Library building some years ago, have been recently hung again upon the entrance staircase, it seems a favourable opportunity to collect together the scattered notes which I have from time to time extracted from the University registers; and as a recent examination of the original packets of vouchers has brought to light the name of a portrait-painter of whose work no specimen has, I believe, been hitherto recognised, I am anxious to lay the facts before the Society.

My extracts are taken (A) from the Grace-books, (B) from the Inventories of University property, (C) from the Audit-books of the Vice-Chancellor's and Proctors' accounts, and, where the Audit-books seemed to imply the existence of further details, I have searched (D) the vouchers themselves, which are preserved in the Registry, with a few gaps, from 1558 to the present time. The extracts are so small, that I shall proceed to give them all, as they stand, without fear of extending this communication to an undue length; and I shall append to each extract such remarks as the occasion may seem to demand.

A. *From the Grace-Books.*

The following memorandum, in the handwriting of Mat-

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, June 3, 1872.

thew Stokys, occurs on a vacant leaf near the end of the *Liber Gratiarum* Δ (1542—1588), leaf 326^a:

‘Memorandum quod anno domini 1580 et regni regine Elizabethæ 22^o mense vero Junii...M^r Johannes parker dedit effigiem patris sui Matthei Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.

Item M^r Edwardus grant dedit effigiem dominæ Margarete comitisse Richemundie et Darbie matris Regis Henrici septimi, ut etiam effigiem D. Roberti comitis leicestrie.’

The first to come was also the first to go. I can find no trace of the portrait of Archbishop Parker having been in the possession of the University after the close of the xvth century. At the same time it is difficult to believe that any picture, still less a portrait of one who had been such a father to the University as Parker had always shown himself to be, could have been silently stolen from the walls of any public room in the University. The following suggestion is offered merely as a possible explanation of its disappearance. Some years ago, when Mr C. H. Cooper was preparing his edition of Le Keux's *Memorials of Cambridge*, we went very carefully over the Library in search of any heraldic decorations which might point out a date or contain an allusion of any kind. In what is now the ‘Catalogue Room’ of the Library, but, until the building of the present Senate-House, was the place where the University business was transacted, there is an ornamental plaster ceiling, belonging evidently to the close of the xvth or beginning of the xvith century. Among all the ornaments we could only discover one coat of arms (2 chevronels, and a canton charged with a bird); and this we identified without difficulty as belonging to Dr Jegon, Master of Corpus Christi College, in whose Vice-Chancellorship the ceiling was in all probability put up. Can it be that Dr Jegon may have taken the portrait of his predecessor (Archbishop Parker had been Master of Corpus) into his own lodge for greater security during the alterations? If so, it is quite conceivable that, when the alterations had been finally completed, Dr Jegon had ceased to be Master, and that in this way the portrait of the Archbishop never found its way back to the University buildings. There are, I believe,

three portraits of Parker in his own College. Now it is proverbially difficult to find any register of the pedigree of pictures, and I dare say the present Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College are as little able to say how they became possessed of these, as the University is to say how it lost its own. My suggestion about the alterations in the Regent House and their date will be sure to meet with either confirmation or disproof, when Professor Willis's long-expected *Architectural History of the University* makes its appearance; and I hope the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College will not take amiss the remarks I have made about a possible act of unconscious appropriation on the part of one of their predecessors.

The portrait of the Lady Margaret is a small painting on panel, measuring 20 in. by $15\frac{3}{4}$ in., in a plain frame now painted black, though one can still read through the paint the following inscription in gold letters: MARGARETA MATER HENRICI VII (head) COMITISSA RICHMONDIÆ ET DERBIÆ (right side) FVNDATRIX COLLEGIORVM D IOANNIS ET CHRI CANTABRIGIÆ (left side) OBIT ANNO DNI 1509 3 KAL IVLII (foot). She has a half open book in her hands, bound in red; and the words visible, 'spalme' in the head-line, and '...deus secundum' and '...tuam' below, show it to be meant either for a psalter open at the 'Miserere mei deus,' or for a supposed copy of Bishop Fisher's work on the seven penitential psalms, which was first printed four years before the Lady Margaret's death. It is in bad condition at present; but it bears no marks, in my eyes, of being a contemporary likeness. Indeed, but for the memorandum of its having been presented by Mr Edward Grant in 1580, I should have been more inclined to class it with several others, such as those of Bancroft, Abbot, and Buckingham, which give the impression of being copies made to order during the Commonwealth period, when there was a great spirit of activity in the University, and when it seems to have been thought desirable to have before the eyes the likenesses of those who had been our most notable benefactors. In looking at the Catalogue of the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866, and the accompanying volume of photographs,

this portrait is seen to resemble most closely the one numbered 47, which belongs to St John's College, Cambridge. The following is the brief and incomplete description given in the Catalogue: 'Half-length, face three-quarter to r.; black robe and dress of a widow according to her rank; a white "barbe" above the chin, and white head-dress...Panel, 22 x 17 in.' The size is almost identical and the attitude and details of half-opened book, &c., are precisely alike in the two.

The portrait, on the other hand, of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who was High Steward of the University from 1563 to 1588, has much more the appearance of being an original likeness. It is on panel, and measures 20 in. by 15½ in., and is in the common black frame, seen round so many portraits of that day in the University. He is represented with his head covered, and wearing the jewel and collar of the order of the Garter. It was exhibited in London at the National Portrait Exhibition in 1866 (no. 262), and a photograph was taken of it at the time, as of all the others in the same exhibition. It is described in the catalogue thus: 'Bust, dark beard and moustache, black hat, jewelled band, dark dress, small ruff; collar of K.G. It is so dark as hardly to show in the photograph'.

The donor, Edward Grant, was a well-known man in his day, as head-master of Westminster School. There is an interesting notice of him in the *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, from which we learn, among other things, that he matriculated at St John's College in February 1563-4, and that he was a member of the college at the time of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge in August 1564. He was appointed head-master of Westminster in 1572, and canon of the same church in 1577. He became Doctor in Divinity here in 1580, at which time our memorandum shows that he gave the two portraits to the University. He had given books to St John's College in the preceding year. Dudley had become High Steward of the University in June 1563, a little before Grant's matriculation, and he accompanied the Queen to Cambridge in 1564. Whether there had been any relations between the two men at that early period I

cannot say. But in 1581 we find Grant dedicating his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (4to. London, 1581) to Leicester; and in this he subscribes himself 'Honori tuo, à Sacris, omni obseruantia addictissimus,' words which imply that he was his chaplain. Grant died August 4, 1601, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His connexion with St John's College is of course enough to account for his presenting to the University a portrait of the Lady Margaret, the foundress of the one body and a primary benefactor of the other.

B. *From the Inventories.*

The following entries occur in a book containing the 'Articles for the office of keeping the Universitie Librarie, made A^o 1582,' after which comes 'A Table of the Books in the Universitie Librarie,' which again is succeeded by a list of 'Diuers other Parcells, thyngs, and furniture belonginge to the Universitie.' The book was probably drawn up soon after the Articles were sanctioned¹; and it contains a few additions from the hand of Matthew Stokys, whose writing disappears altogether from the University books in 1588. The Inventory now forms part of a bound volume of 'Library Catalogues,' marked 31. 1, in the Registry. Among the 'Diuers other Parcells' occurs the following entry:

'In the Consistorie, and charge of M^r Matthew Stokys Reg^o.

* * * *

9. The Ladie Margarets Countesse of Rich. physiognomie.

10. The Lord Matthew Archbysshopp his physionomie.

11. The Lord Roberts Erle of Leycester his physionomie.

* * * *

[22. The phisionomye of my Lorde Tresurer.]'

Of the entries numbered 9, 10, 11, which are in the original

¹ An entry in the Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1582-83 (D^r Bell V.C.) perhaps relates to this very book: 'Item 6 Julij [1583]...for a paper booke in vellam wherein is written all the

stuffe, books, &c. of thuniuersitie, xxij^d, and to Jo. Frickley wryting the same, vs.' The handwriting is certainly Frickley's, judging from such vouchers of his as I have examined.

handwriting, nothing need be said, as the pictures are the same three which appeared in the memorandum of 1580 in the Grace-Book. The one numbered 22 I have enclosed in brackets as being an addition made by Matthew Stokys. 'My Lorde Tresurer' is of course William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who became Lord High Treasurer in 1572, and who was Chancellor of the University from February 1558-9 until his death, August 4, 1598. Nothing could be more natural than to find a portrait of Cecil in the possession of the University; but I have in vain searched the accounts of the years during which it must have come here, for any trace, either of the gift or of expenses connected with it, further than the bare entry which is given above. This entry, however, puts it beyond question that the picture came some time during the years 1583-1588. The portrait itself is on panel, measuring 28 in. by 22 in., in a plain black frame like those already described. Burghley is represented half-length, with his head covered, wearing the jewel of the order of the Garter attached to a common chain, the Treasurer's staff in his right hand. In the upper right hand corner (of the picture) are the Cecil arms with the motto COR. VNVM. VIA. VNA beneath. The general effect much resembles the larger picture belonging to the Marquis of Exeter, which is described and photographed in the Catalogue of the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866 and its accompanying series of photographs, entitled 'Galleries and Bays,' &c. (obl. 4to. London, 1867), no. 246.

C. *From the Audit Books.*

The following entries are all that I have been able to find relating in any way to portraits belonging to the University.

1. Vice-Chancellor's accounts, 1588—89 (Dr Nevill V. C.):
Item for bringinge of the Queenes picture which M^r Skinner gave vnto the Vniuersitie ij^d.
2. Vice-Chancellor's accounts, 1591—92 (Dr Some V. C.):
Item for cariage of a lettre to M^r Vincent Skinner about the Vniuersity stewardship xij^d.

3. Vice-Chancellor's accounts, 1602—03 (Dr W. Smith, V. C.):
 Item for our Chancellors Picture the case and caridge xxxv^s.
4. Vice-Chancellor's accounts, 1611—12 (Dr Goche, V. C.):
 Item for the kingis picture xij^s.
5. Vice-Chancellor's accounts, 1612—13 (Dr Carey, V. C.):
 Item solut' pro pictura Principis Carroli in domo Regentium xiiij^l. vj^s. viij^d.
 Item pro portitore eiusdem x^s.
 Item pro le Curteine, stringes and rodd xv^s.

The picture of Queen Elizabeth, mentioned in the first of the above extracts, is on canvas, measuring 24 in. by 20 in., and is enclosed in a simple black frame. It was exhibited in London at the National Portrait Exhibition in 1866 (No. 363), and the following description was added in the catalogue: 'Bust; yellow wig, jewelled head-ornaments and gauze falling veil, small ruff.' A photograph of it was taken at the same time. The donor, Mr Vincent Skinner, does not appear to have been a member of the University; but he was evidently in the service of Lord Burghley, and his son Sir Robert Cecil. His name frequently appears in the University accounts about this time: '2 pair of gloves for Mr Vincent Skinner,' '5 pair of gloves for Mr Vincent Skinner,' &c. The second entry given above seems to show that he was a person of some importance; and 'the stewardship' of course is the office of High Steward of the University to which Sir Robert Cecil was appointed about Christmas 1591.

On Essex's disgrace, Sir Robert Cecil succeeded as Chancellor of the University in February 1600-1; and the younger Cecil is therefore 'our Chancellor,' whose picture came down to Cambridge two years later. The amount, thirty-five shillings, renders it somewhat uncertain how far the cost of the picture fell upon the University. My searches have been unavailing in tracing any other allusion to it in the University accounts. It is painted on panel, measuring 31 in. by 25 in., and is framed like the rest of these early pictures. He is represented half-length, his head bare, his left hand covering the jewel on his breast; his right hand resting on a table upon two white bound books, to which seems to be attached a seal in a red case, embroidered with the Royal arms and garter. Behind these on

the table is a hand-bell. Above in the left hand corner of the picture is the motto 'SERO · SED · SERIO.' It bears a strong resemblance, both in general treatment, and in the details, to two which found a place at the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866, one belonging to the Marquis of Salisbury (No. 259), and the other to the Earl of Derby (No. 294).

The entry in the accounts for 1611-12, 'Item for the King's picture, xj's,' can only refer to the full-length portrait of King James which now stands on the wall immediately facing the entrance-door. It is painted on canvas, measuring 80 in. by 42 in., and is in a carved frame, gilt, which seems to belong to the time. His head is covered, and he wears the collar and jewel of the Garter. The University account books throw no light upon it beyond the brief note I have transcribed; so that we are left wholly in the dark as to what fact the payment of eleven shillings represents. It is possible that an examination of the accounts of the royal household may afford an explanation, and perhaps also the name of the artist who executed it. It might well be from the same hand as the Prince Charles.

The last extract I have made, from the accounts of 1612-13, explains itself, and I will say all I have to say upon it, after quoting the actual receipt of the painter.

D. *From the Vouchers.*

The original packets of bills and receipts submitted to the auditors of the University accounts every year are preserved in chests in the Registry, and go back to the year 1558. Thinking it might be possible to find a receipt from the painter himself for the portrait of Prince Charles which the University procured at its own cost for the Regent House, I obtained Mr Luard's leave and aid to search these precious little bundles of papers. The picture had been attributed to Mytens and others, by writers who never thought of going to the account books of the University for information; so I was all eagerness and curiosity to find the result. On going through the bundle for 1612-13, I came upon the following receipt:

'x^o die Julij. 1613.

Receaued by me Robert Peake, of M ^r Doctor Carew, vize Chancello ^{ur} of the vniuersitie of Cambridge, the some of Thirtene Pounds, sixe shillings and eight pence, and is in full satisfaccion for Prince Charles his picture I saie receaued the sum of	}	xiiij ^b . vj ^s . viij ^d .
--	---	--

Subscribed in the *presence* of

James : Hodgson ;

William. ∴. Keble.'

ROBERT PEAK

I confess to having experienced a slight disappointment on reading this document. I was in hopes of finding possibly the signature of some well-known painter; and here was a man of whose very name I had never heard. It was some slight comfort to reflect that, whatever its value as a work of art, a question on which I do not pretend to give an opinion, the picture must always have an interest for members of the University. The visit of Prince Charles, which it commemorates, took place on the 3rd and 4th of March, 1612-13, and the Prince received the degree of Master of Arts on the occasion. The picture (which is painted on canvas, measuring 61 in. by 34 in., and is in a carved gilt frame, similar to the one of King James mentioned above) represents the Prince full length, wearing the jewel of the Garter with a ribbon, the garter below his left knee, his head uncovered, and his white hat with jewelled band on the table at his side, on which his right hand rests. Above, pinned to the curtain, is an unfolded piece of paper, on which the following lines and statement are written:

CAROLE, TE MVSAE NAM TV DIGNATVS VTRVMQ:
CEPIMVS HOSPITIO, PINXIMVS, OBSEQVIO
Academiam inuisens A^o Regni Paterni
Angliæ 10^o, die Martij 4^o, cooptatus est
in ordinem Magistrorum, admissusq:
hoc in Senatu, per Valentinum
Carey Procancellarium.

The second line of the couplet is as terse an expression of University loyalty as even King James can have desired.

On turning, however, to Walpole's *Anecdotes of painting in England* (ed. Wornum, 8vo. London, 1849, vol. 1, p. 220), I found that Peak was far from being wholly unknown, though neither Walpole nor his editors have succeeded in identifying any specimen of his work. Walpole's notice is so short, that I may perhaps be forgiven for giving it almost in full.

‘ROBERT PEAKE.

The earliest mention of him that appears is in the books of the Lord Harrington, treasurer of the chambers, No. 78, 79, being accounts of monies received and paid by him:—

Item, paid to Robert Peake, picture-maker, by warrant from the council October 4, 1612, for three several pictures made by him at the commandment of the Duke of York his officers, and given away and disposed of by the duke's grace, twenty pounds.

It does not appear whether these pictures were in oil or water-colours; I should rather suppose portraits in miniature of (King Charles I. then) Duke of York; but that Peak painted in oil is ascertained by Peacham, in his *Book of Limning*, where he expressly celebrates his good friend *Mr Peake*, and *Mr Marquis* for oil-colours. * * * Peake was originally a picture-seller by Holborn-bridge, and had the honour of being Faithorn's master, and, what perhaps he thought a greater honour, was knighted at Oxford, March 28, 1645.

The disorders of the times confounding all professions, and no profession being more bound in gratitude to take up arms in defence of King Charles, Sir Robert Peake entered into the service, and was made a lieutenant-colonel, and had a command in Basing-house when it was besieged, where he persuaded his disciple Faithorn to enlist under him, as the latter in his dedication of the *Art of Graving* to Sir Robert expressly tells him, and where Peake himself was taken prisoner. He was buried in the church of St Stephen, London.’

Dallaway, Walpole's editor, quotes the following words from Peacham's *Treatise on Drawing and Limning*, alluded to above:

‘Nor must I be ungratefully unmindful of my own countrymen, who have been and are able to equal the best, if occasion served, as old Mr Hilliard, Mr Isaac Oliver, inferior to none in Christendom for the countenance in small, my good friend Mr Peake and Mr Marquis for oyll colours, and many more unknown to me.’

Failing a known good name, it is perhaps the next best thing to have found that our Prince Charles is the production of one whose work is unknown; because once having an au-

thenticated picture by an artist who is known to have been employed¹, it becomes practicable for the student of art to give his attention to the characteristic features of the work of this one known picture, and by this process to go far towards identifying other portraits, hitherto unclaimed, as coming from the same hand. When the University was asked some years ago to lend certain pictures for the purposes of the National Portrait Exhibition in London, this picture was selected among others, and a Grace of the Senate was obtained for the purpose. For one reason or another, possibly because of the overwhelming number of portraits of Charles placed at the disposal of the Committee, all those mentioned in the Grace were taken, except this one. Had it then been known that this portrait was an authentic sample of an otherwise unrecognised artist, however second-rate, I feel sure it would have found a place in an exhibition, the main object of which was instruction, and the existence of which, even for a few months, did more to dispel ignorance, to correct mistakes (which side by side comparison alone could correct), and to put the knowledge of English portraits on a sound basis, than any number of books on the subject could possibly have done.

Thus closes my short list. This is not the opportunity for making any remarks about the later additions to the collection; though it were much to be wished that some one interested in the subject and competent to do the work, would supply the University with a more respectable description of these pictures than anything which we now have to show.

¹ It is remarkable enough that the entry quoted by Walpole from the Prince's accounts, shows Peak to have

been in his employ only a few months before the picture was executed for the University.

XVII. NOTES OF THE EPISCOPAL VISITATION OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF ELY IN 1685¹.

THE notes which are here laid before the Society are the memoranda of the Episcopal Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Ely in 1685, taken at the time, partly in the handwriting of the Chancellor of the diocese, and partly, I presume, in that of his clerk. They were afterwards worked up into the form in which they appear in the Bishop's register. But as such autograph notes do not often come to light, and as Episcopal registers are not generally very easy of access, I have asked the owner to allow me to lay them before our Society as affording a view of the state of a group of town and country churches as they appeared just a quarter of a century after the Restoration. The picture is such as will scandalise almost any one of the rising generation, though there are yet many of the 'older inhabitants' who can recollect a state of things if not as bad, yet not very much better, in many of our village churches.

The papers belong to Mr John Taylor, of Northampton, who has devoted so much time and labour to the illustration of the history and literature of his own county. Mr Taylor tells me that he found them among a mass of waste paper which was offered for sale by a person at Market Harborough, not long ago. After the matter had been worked up into the official entries in the Bishop's register, the memoranda of the time must have been left among loose papers 'of no account,' and so eventually turned out as waste. I have not yet been able to ascertain who the Chancellor was at this time; whoever he was, he wrote a good scholarlike hand.

Some of the sheets are no doubt wanting. There are four-

¹ A Communication read before the 24, 1875. The MS. is now in the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May British Museum.

teen of them, all loose and disconnected. I have therefore sorted them into two packets according to the two handwritings; one of which contains the parishes which I have numbered I—XIII, and the other XIV—LXVII. For further arrangement, I have placed the separate sheets in order according to the dates occurring in them, beginning with the earliest. Sheets 5 and 6 have each lost a half. By means of the following alphabetical list of the parishes visited, it will be easy to find any particular one.

LIST OF PARISHES MENTIONED IN THE FOLLOWING NOTES.

Abington magna 18	Chettisham 10	Melburn 22
Abington parva 19	Childerly 28	Meldreth 60
Babraham 17	Comberton 44	Newton 13
Balsham 16	Cottenham 35	Oakington 59
Barton 56	Coveney 12	Orwell 62
Bassingborn 23	Croyden 63	Over 33
Boxworth 27	Doddington 7	Pampesford 24
Cambridge:	Downham 9	Rampton 34
All Hallows 45	Dry Drayton 29	Sarston 25
St Andrews 47	Elsworth 37	Great Shelford 31
Bennet 65	Gamlingay 42	Stapleford 26
St Buttolf 50	Grandchester 54	Long Stow 39
St Clements 49	Little Grandsden 38	Sutton 4
St Edwards 52	Haddenham 3	Tadlow 64
St Giles 67	Harleton 55	Toft 43
Great St Maries 53	East Hatley 40	Trumpington 32
Little St Maries 51	Hungry Hatley 41	Wentworth 2
St Peters 66	Hildersham 20	Whaddon 61
St Sepulchres 48	Histon 58	Wicham 11
Trinity 46	Impington 57	Wichford 1
Castle camps 15	Lollworth 30	Wilberton 8
Shudi camps 14	Maddingly 21	Willingham 36
Chatteris 6	Meepole 5	

[Sheet 1, leaf 1] I. WICHFORD. Aug. 18.

Vicar. Mr Bambridge. *Value.* £60 per an.

Patron. Dr Gower in right of the Deane and Chapter of Ely.

O. The Chchyard to be well fenct and clear'd from Weeds and Bushes.

Order. The { Church
 Chancell } to be painted, plasterd, whited.

Order. The Font to bee kept Cleane, with a Plugg and Cover. And Baptisme not to bee performd with a Bason.

Order. The Vicaridge house to bee Repaired, or rather Rebuilt, for the pittifull old Cottage is Irreparable.

NB. This parish is very Conformable. All come well to Church and Sacraments. Above 100 Communicants.

(Lady Walker and Colonel Phil. Herbert are the onely persons of Quality that have an Interest of estates in this Parish.

Quære. Is not the Schoolemaster a Fanatick? I was told that Hee is one. Then lett him bee prohibited¹.)

[1. 1] II. WENTWORTH. Aug. 18.

Rector. Mr Appleford. *Value.* £60 per an.

Patron. Deane and Chapter of Ely.

The Chancell is newly Repair'd in part.

Order. { The Chancell to bee finisht, plasterd, whited.
The Church w^{ch} is in a most ruinous condition
to bee forthwith Repaired.
The Churchyard to be fenct better, for tis
miserably unpall'd, and freed from Weedes.

The Rectory house is tolerably well.

N.B. No sort of Dissenter in the parish.

Ab^t 20 familys.

Ab^t 30 Communicants.

The Incumbent appears Diligent in Catechizing.

[2. 1] III. HADDENHAM. Aug. 18. 85.

Curate. Mr Patrick.

Value. £50 per an. Once neere £100. Spoyld by Dividing y^e F[].

Impropriator. Archdeacon.

Impropriation very considerable.

About 1000 persons ought to Communicate.

Not above 30 or 40 Actually doe Communicate.

Men of better note in the parish are these

Mr March, a Justice of Peace.

Mr John Towers.

Mr Thomas Towers.

¹ These two paragraphs seem to refer to this parish; but I am not certain about it, as they are written on the other half of the sheet.

Mr Pamplyn.

Mr Bland.

The Curate appeares Carefull and do's constantly Catechize.

Order. A sylver Patin for the Bread instead of a Trencher
w^{ch} now they use.

Order. A Napkin to be bought to Cover y^e Bread.

Order. The Pale to bee removd out of the Font and a plug
to bee putt in: The Font to bee kept cleane.

Order. One of the pillars is much broaken. Divers places
in the church are dangerously crackt. The steeple is like to fall.
Lett all these things bee mended out of hand.

Recommend the speciall Care of this Important place to the
Archdeacon.

Order. The Church and Chancell to bee { Plaster'd.
Whited.

[2. 2]

IV. SUTTON. Aug. 19. 85.

Vicar. Mr Gregory. *Value.* £60 per an.

Patron. {
Parson. { Deane and chapter of Ely.

Tenant. Captain Story. Value of y^e Parsonage £100
per an.

O. The Church to bee speedily and thoroughly repair'd,
for it is in a Lamentable Case, and is a most noble structure.

Order. The Chancell to be also repaired, for that is in worse
Condition than even y^e Church is. The very Walls of the
Chancell like to fall.

Recommend it effectually to y^e Deane and Chapter that
they require of their Tenant to mend all in y^e Chancell.

Order. The Churchyard to be better fenct.

(On opposite side) *Order.* That ye Schoole bee no longer
Taught in y^e Church).

NB. There is in this Parish a Schoole endowd wth £20
per an. The schoolm^r (Mr Poole) is putt in by the Deane and
chapter.

No Papist in this Parish, But six familys of Quakers.

The Vicaridge house is most lamentable and Decrepitt,
never Tolerable, never a Chamber in it.

Order. The Church to bee kept cleane for y^e future, it lyes most sordidly for the present.

Order. The Font to be cleansd and kept coverd, and that there bee no Christning wth a Bason.

(On opposite page) (*Order.* A chest wth three locks and the Register to be kept there.)

Order. That a silver Patin bee provided for y^e Communion Bread.

Order. A Booke of Homilys, Canons, Table of Matrimony. The vicar seemes to Discharge his Trust Well.

[3. 1]

V. MEEPOLE. Aug. 19.

Rector. Mr Gregory of Sutton. *Value.*

Parson. *Patron.*

The Church a very small one.

Order. The Chancell to be Repaired, for tis in a ruinous condition.

Order. The Carpett for the Communion-Table to bee provided (that w^{ch} they use being a sordid one).

Order. The floore of ye Chancell to be mended; tis sunk downe at prest.

Order. The Font to be made cleane and kept so. Tis useless now for want of a plugg and hold's no Water.

Mr Fortry (the present Highsheriff) the onely Gentleman in y^e place.

Mr Whinne }
Mr Carter } well affected Yeomen.

Mr Hutton, The Schoolemaster Licensed and teaches our Chatechisme.

One female Quaker in the parish.

Order. The Church to be Swept and made decent. Then the Churchwardens to see that y^e Clerke do keep it so.

Order. Homilys. Canons. Table. Bible and two Common-prayer bookes to be wellbound.

Order. A Chest wth three Locks and the parish Register to bee kept there Lockt upp.

[3. 2]

VI. CHATTERIS. *Aug. 19.**Vicar.* Mr Strong. *Value.* £40 per an.*Impropriator.* Mr Heatly. *Value.* £150 per an.

Mr Caryl, a Gentleman ha's a fine Seat hard by.

The parish abound's wth Quakers.*O.* The Chancell to be repaid.The Leadworke w^{ch} is faulty to be mended.

The floore to be well pavd. The Windowes mended.

Order. The Font to be cleansd, and a plugg and a decent Cover provided.

The Church to be kept alwayes cleane. All the holes stopt that no Vermine or Birds may gett in.

A booke of Homilyes, Canons, Table.

The Bible and all the Church-bookes to be well bound.

The Chest to have three Locks.

The Register to be laid upp there.

[3. 2]

VII. DODDINGTON. *Aug. 20.**Rector.* Dr Nalson. *Value.* Neere £400 per an.*Patron.* S^r Sewster Peyton.

The Chch and Chancell needs much Repairing.

Order. That it be done speedily and effectually.

£20 per an. Fabrick Land.

S ^r Leoline Walden	} Gentlemen y ^t have Interest there.
S ^r Sewster Peyton	

[4. 1]

VIII. WILBERTON. *Aug. 27.**Curate.* Mr Smith. *Value.**Patron.* Archdeacon.*Tenant* to the Archdeacon, S^r Will. Wren.Ab^t 100 Communicants.

Every thing heere very Decent.

The Chancell and Church in good repaire.

Prayers heere uppon Wednesdays and Fridayes.

A Townehouse Worth ab^t £4 per an. for the poore.

[4. 1] IX. DOWNHAM. *Aug. 30.*

Rector. Mr John Saywell. *Value.* £140 per an.

Patron. Bp of Ely.

Parsonage house and Outhouses in good repair.

The parish a very Orderly One.

Two or Three Stubborne Quakers.

Two or Three Children Unbaptiz'd, borne of a Jew, his name Washinden.

Constant Catechizing and keeping Holydayes.

[4. 1, 2] X. CHETTISHAM. *Sept. 5.* A Chappell of ease to
St Mary's.

Curate. Mr Bentham. *Value.* £20 per an.

Patron. Deane and Chapter.

This Chappell is ruinous, and nasty. Turn'd into a Dove house.

Order. That the Holes w^{re} the Birds come in bee stopt.

That all be Cleansd and kept Cleane.

That all be Repaired and Whited.

Order. That a Bible bee gotten, for yet there is none.

That $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a Book of Homilys} \\ \text{Book of Canons} \\ \text{Table of Degrees} \end{array} \right\}$ be bought.

Ab^t 18 or 20 Communicants in this [.]

No Dissenter.

Order. The Font to be Washt, & kept cleane wth $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Plugg} \\ \text{Cover.} \end{array} \right.$

Order. The Westend of the Chappell, w^{ch} is Dangerously crackt, to bee Secur'd.

[4. 2] XI. WICHAM. *Sept. 6.*

Vicar. Mr Jaxon. *Value.* About £80 per an.

Patron. Deane and Chapter. Tenant for the Gr. Tith Mrs Dillingham.

Not one Dissenter heere. 192 Communicants.

Steeple much Crackt, But already mended.

Vicaridge house in good repair.

[4. 2]

XII. COVENEY. *Sept. 6.**Rector.* Mr Gottbed. *Value* £60 per an.*Patron.* Mr Drake.

A wicked Modus spoyles this Living. The parish being twelve miles Compass, the value w^d be great but for y^e composition.

Out of this £60 he pays the Curate of Maney a Chappell of ease.

Order. The Font to be cleansd, to have a plugg and Cover, and christnings to be no more wth a Bason.

Order. The pavem^t of the Chch to be mended w^{re} it is broaken.

Order. That Mr Gottbed do pave the Chancell, as he promises to doe.

Order. A new Communion-Carpett.

Ab^t 50 Communicants. Never any Dissenter heere.

One Mrs Halyburton, a papist lives at Maney wth Mr Widdrington.

[5. 1]

XIII. NEWTON. *Sept. 17, 1685.*

Vicar. late Curate to Dr Harrison.

Patron. Dr Harrison in right of the Deane and Chapter of Ely.

Value.

Chancell wants { paving y^e floore moyst and greene.
pointing and Tyling
Whiting.

The Clarke want's a Common-prayer-booke. This is Torne and spoyld.

There Wants a { Hood
Booke of { Homilys
Canons.

There wants a Table of Degrees of Kindred.

The Font is foule and want's a plugg, and a better Cover.

There Wants a Patin, and they use a Trencher instead.

There want Locks uppon the Chest.

The Register is not kept as it ought under Three Locks and keys.

The Lead worke neere the porch is bad and it raine's in.

Both Church and Chancell want Slatting.

The Churchyard is Weedy and ill fenct in some places.

There are in all ab^t 30 familys in the parish.

The Vicaridge-house is a pittifull Cottage.

Mr Swann, the onely man of Condition in the parish, who is Tenant to the Deane and Chapter.¹

[6. 2] XIV. SHUDICAMPS. *Sept. y^e 9th.*

Mr Wignell. *Vicar.* O. D. P. a Venerable hum[.]
Value. £25 per Annum.

Trin. Coll. { *Parsons.* Value £60 per Annum.
Patrons.

The Chancell in a wretched condition y^e g[.]

Noe Patin, noe Book of Homilies, Cannons, noe Cha[.]

Noe Carpet layd on, noe Linnen for the Altar.

Noe Bible but of an old Edition 100 years agoe.

The Common Prayer-book torn and defective.

The Seats in y^e Chancell spoyld, y^e Dore broak.

The Register to be kept under 3 Locks.

Mr Salmon Tenant to Mr Simon Sterne.

The Body of the Church wants paving and Plaistring y^e Seats are broken.

The Church-porch unpaved.

The Font wants a Plugg. A Town-house.

The Vicaridge-house in a falling lamentable Condition.

About 30 Families.

Mr
 Mr R^t Bridge. } Gent'.
 Mr Yates.
 Mr Willings. }

¹ With Newton ends what I have above assumed to be in the Chancellor's own handwriting. All the re-

maining sheets are in the handwriting which I have assumed to be that of his clerk.

Lady Allington. }
 Mr Turner. } estates here.
 Well. }

[6. 2] XV. [CASTLE CA]MPS. *Sept. y^e 9th.*

* * * * *

[]d plaistred both whole
 and tite. y^e Font well.

[] kept, a Hood and Patin wanting.

[] looks spoiled and torn.

The Bible to be new bound. Noe Book of Homilies.

Noe School Here. The Parsonage house Very well.

About 50 Families and about a 140 Communicants.

Noe Dissenters tho many Sluggards.

Mr Scott of Bennet Coll. Mr of the Castle.

[6. 2] XVI. BALSHAM. *Sept. y^e 9th.*

Rector. Dr Templar. *Value.* £300 per Annum.

Patron. Charter-house.

The Church very fair, y^e Body of it wants mending.

The Chancell Seats and Canopy broaken.

Some paving wanting. The Stepp to y^e Altar is very high,
 y^e Rails to be restored.

The Clerks book torn. A Book of Homilies and Table of
 Marriages wanting.

4 Excom'. 2 Quakers. 2 Anabaptists.

About 250 Communicants. 16 Presented for neglect.

The Parsonage-house very well.

1 Good Scool-Dame constant at Church. Another a
 Fanatick never comes.

Mr Linsey Gent.

[7. 1] XVII. BABRAHAM.

Vicar. Mr Barker. Held by Sequestrat'.

Value. About £25 per Annum. Some Land belonging to it.

Impropriator. S^r Lavin' Bennett.

Patron. L^d Keeper for the King.

The Bible wants binding only.

The Register to be kept better.

A Book of Cannons to be bought.

The Chancell wants little only y^e Seats a little boarding and 2 small lights want glazing.

The Seats in the Church want much boarding.

The Font in the Church wants a Plugg and a Cover.

Some paving wanting in y^e Church.

The Church-Porch ill crackt and wants painting and paving.

The Church-Yard ore-grown wth weeds.

Noe Dissenter of any kind. About 20 Famylies.

Gent: S^r Levin' Bennet. Mr Joselyn.

[7. 1] XVIII. ABINGTON MAGNA.

Vicar. Mr Boughton. Held by Sequestration.

Patron. Mr Bennet.

Value. Not full £20 per Annum.

Impropriator. Mr Bennet.

The Chancell-floaring is all green for it stands upon springs and besides it wants paving much and seat-boarding.

The Windows all broak to be mended.

Order. 2 new Common Prayer-books. A new Carpet, new Cover for y^e Font and a Book of Homilies, and the setting up y^e Seats as farr as they will goe.

The whole Church pittifull and thatcht and that extream ill great Holes in it at w^{ch} y^e Pidgeons come in, once a Hand-some Church now a Dismall one.

Turn y^e Desk, the Church wants paving.

Noe Vicaridge House a poor one burnt down 25 year agoe.

About 45 Families. Noe Dissenter except 2 Quakers, One Excom' for not paying Tithes these 2 Abingtons served morn and Afternoon interchangeably.

A noble from Clarehall given by Mr Boughton half to y^e poor half to y^e Church.

[7. 1] XIX. ABINGTON PARVA. *Sept. y^e 18th.*

Vicar. Mr Boughton.

Patron. B^p of Ely.

Value. About £20 per Annum held by Institution.

Impropriator. Mrs Dalton.

The Chancell windows are broaken.

Green Raggs are hung in a pue.

Chancell and Church want whiting.

The Church wants tiling pointing.

The tiles to be removed.

Sentences obliterated to be restored.

Chancell to be paved where wanting.

The Brick-work in y^e Porch to be mended.

A Book of Cannons to be bought and a Patin now wanting.

Noe Dissenter, about 20 Families and none Excommunicate
but Winter Flood.

The Vicaridge house Well, a Noble from Clarehall, 12 Acres
of Land.

Gent'. Mr Bennet, comes to Church here but lives in tother
Abingdon.

[7. 1] XX. HILDERSHAM. *Sept. y^e 18th.*

Rector. Mr Smith.

Patron. Mr Smith Himselfe.

Value. About £100 per Annum.

Lady Colson Lady of the Mannor.

A Side-Chappell much dilapidated but now repairing.

The Pavement wants some mending.

Some Seats want boarding.

The Chancell and Church want whiting and some plastering.

A Patin wanting. The Hood to be new lined.

The Rayls to be sett up. A Patin wanting.

The Vestry to be cleard of Tyles and filth and to be repaired.

The Register to be kept under 3 Locks.

A Terrier to be brought in to y^e Registers Office.

24 Families. Noe Alehouse.

Noe Seperatist. All come well to Church.

Constant Catechizing and Holy-days.

The Bible to be bound.

O. A new Common Prayerbook to be bought.

Charity a noble from Clare-Hall.

Parsonage house and garden very well. A good House.

[7. 2] XXI. MADDINGLY. *Sept. 26th.*

Vicar. Mr *Value* £50 per annum.

Patron. }
Parson. } Bp of Ely.

The Font foul and noe Plugg. Some Seats want boarding.

Two Heaps of Lime and Stone in Corners to be removed.

New boards for the Beare now in peices.

The Church and Chancell to be whited.

3 Locks to be sett upon the Chest for y^e better keeping of the Register.

Some underpinning and plastering wanting in the Chancell.

The 2 Porches want Tyling.

The Chancell wants pointing and some tiling.

The Sentences to be renewd.

Two new Prayer-books wanting.

A new book of Homilies and Cannons wanting.

Constant Catechizing and keeping Holy-days.

£6 or £7 per annum given to y^e Church.

The Vicaridge house new built.

[7. 2] XXII. MELBURN. *Oct. y^e 12th*

Vicar. Mr Day. *Value* about £40 per Annum.

Patron. }
Parson. } Dean and Chapt^r of Ely.

Tenant. S^r Ben Ailoff.

The Chancell-Walls decayd for want of Plastering.

The Chancell floar very bad.

The Chancell window very faulty and stopt up.

The Chancell Seats broaken.

The Ministers and Clerks Common Prayer-book want binding.

The Font nasty an ill Plugg and a worse Cover.

The Church needs much paving.

The Chest to have 3 Locks and the Register to be kept there.

The Seats in the Church want boarding.

Homilies and Cannons wanting.

The Church-porch wth huge deep Pitts in it to bee new floard.

The Min^r p^rtends constant Catechizing.

About 70 Families. about 12 Families Holdcraft'

Disciples.

One Metcalf an Anabaptist Excom'.

The Vicaridge House wth ye Out-houses reasonably good and well in Repairs.

[7. 2] XXIII. BASSINGBORN. *Oct. 12th.*

Vicar. Mr Searles¹.

Patron. } Dean and Chap' of Westminster value £400 per
Parson. } Annum.

Tenant. Mr Pigott.

Value of the Vicaridge £80 per Annum. A fair Church.

The Chancell leaded and all well.

Noe Patin, the Seats unboarded, the Chest wants three Locks y^e Register to be kept there.

The Steeple crackt much and dangerously.

The Church wants floaring, whiting.

The Font foul, noe Plugg.

Sentences obliterated to be restored.

Scoolm^r Mr Tingay School unlicensed. Noe Free School.

Families 150, Noe Dissenters many Sluggards.

[8. 1] XXIV. PAMPESFORD. *Sept. y^e 18th.*

Vicar. Mr Bowtell of Kings.

Value about £20 per Annum.

¹ [This name may be Scarlet. J.]

Patron. }
Impropriator. } Mr Tyrrell.

The Chancell and Church want a little pointing and whiting.

The Lime and Tyles to be removed out of the Church.

The Font foul and wants a Plugg.

The Church better then most.

Homilies, Cannons, Table of Degrees to be provided.

The Clerks book torn, a better to be bought.

The Rayls to be restored to y^e Altar.

The Register to be lockt up as it ought.

About 30 Families. Not one Dissenter of any kind.

Constant Catechizing. Holy-days well kept.

Most come to y^e Holy Sacram^t. Noe Gentleman.

The Parish very poor.

£10 or £12 per annum given to y^e repairing of the Church.

Vicaridge very pittifull part of it burnt 10 or 12 year agoe.

[8. 1]

XXV. SARSTON. *Sept.* 18th.

Vicar. Mr Haslop of Kings, Mr Haslop.

Value. £15 per Annum y^e Saffron lost w^{ch} impoverishes it.

Patron. }
Impropriator. } Mr Greenhalgh of Harston guardian for his
 nephew a minor.

The Great Tithes about £100 per Annum.

Hood, Homilies, Cannons, Table of Marriage, all wanting
 and a Patin;

Y^e Min^r non Resident not Constant Catechizing nor
 Holy-days.

The Bible to be bound.

A new Common Prayerbook to be bought.

The Church walls want Plastering within and wthout.

The Chancell a dungeon the Windows stopt up wth pease-
 straw.

The Chancell wants Seat-boarding, paving, glazing, Plaster-
 ing, Whiting.

The Rails to be restored from y^e Belfry to y^e Altar, and the
 Altar steps to be raised as heretofore.

The Dore so broaken y^t Hoggs may creep under it.

An old Vestry open to y^e Air.

The Font nasty and noe Plugg.

The Church-yard weedy and full of Elders, the Walls thereof want coping, the Hoggs have rooted up the Graves.

Vicaridge-house turnd to an Ale-house and a sign upon y^e Dore, it rents for £5 per Annum, 2^s 6^d from y^e Vicaridge house to y^e poor.

£50 a year in Charity to y^e Church and poor.

About 60 Families. Noe Dissenters but Esqr Huddleston.

[8. 1] XXVI. STAPLEFORD: *Sept. y^e 18th.*

Vicar. Mr Beaumont.

Value. £60 per Annum. Saffron lost.

Patron. Dr Beaumont for y^e Dean and Chapt. of Ely.

Tenant. Mr Wakefield.

Undertenant. Mr Peters.

The Church half thatcht and half tyled, the very thatch rotten.

The Sentences obliterated.

The Seats in the Church want boarding, they are much broaken.

The Church-Wall leans, needs Buttresses on y^e other side y^e Sparrs coming down.

The Church-porch wants pointing.

The Body of the Church to be paved, the font has noe plugg and a bad Cover.

The Church-yard full of Weeds and ill fenced.

The Bench behind the Altar to be pulld down.

The Chancell windows broaken. the Saints Bell now crackt to be new cast.

The Church very foul, full of heaps of tyle and dust.

Noe Dissenter of any sort about 60 Families.

A Common Prayer-book to be provided for y^e Clerk.

The poor-mans Box wthout a Cover. A hood wanting.

The Register to be well kept, Homilies Cannons Table of Degrees to be provided.

3 Town-Houses for y^e Poor. Catechizing and Holy-days observed.

[8. 2] XXVII. BOXWORTH. *Sept. y^e 19th.**Rector.* Mr Smith of S^t Johns.*Patron.* Mr Cutts.*Value* about £140 per Annum.Noe Cover nor plugg to y^e Font but a Bason.

The Seats in the Church want paving, boarding, floaring.

The Clerk has noe Book. The Desk to be turned.

The Register to be well kept.

The Church and Chancell need whiting.

In one place of the Church it rains in.

A Table of Degrees, a Hood, a Terrier wanting.

The Parsonage-house found very ruinous but much repaired
and more doing apace.

Noe poor in this Parish.

About 20 Families, noe Dissenters, a Regular Parish only
Servants come not to y^e Sacram^t.

None Excom'. Noe Gent'.

Childerly Parish come hither to Church.

Constant Catechizing and keeping Holy days.

[8. 2] XXVIII. CHILDERLY.

2 Rectories swallowd up, and 2 Parishes depopulated.

Rector. Mr Smith of Boxworth. *Value.* £3 per Annum.

A pretty Chappell there. Scarce any Inhabitant there.

[8. 2] XXIX. DRY-DRAYTON. *Sept. y^e 19th.**Rector.* Dr Peachill. *Value.* £100 per Annum.*Patron.* Mr. Weld.

Town Stock 4 mark per Annum. The Church-porch untiled.

The Church-yard not well fenced.

The town-plough to be removed out of the Church.

Some Seats in the Church unboarded.

Some of the Pavem^t Sunk. The font foul without a Plugg.The Chest stands open, y^e Register not well kept.Noe Patin, noe Cannons, y^e Bible defective.

Stones and Timber to be removed out of the Chancell.

The Chancell wants paving and seat-boarding.

A wretched Carpet. The Chancell and Church want whiting.

The Chancell Crackt, leaning it requires Buttresses or much repairing.

About 60 Families, 2 or 3 Dissenters, Holdcrafts Disciples.

One old Excommunicate Person Mr Will: Gifford.

Mr Weld a suspected Papist, the Chief Gent'.

The Parsonage-House pulld down about 8 or 10 years ago, by leave from my Predecessour. It was a fine new House and only pulld down for Mr Welds prospect.

The Stable and Out-houses pulld down, and y^e place whereon they stood paled round, and laid to Mr Welds house.

Order. a Terrier to be brought in for y^e Ground.

[9. 1] XXX. LOLLWORTH. *Sept.* y^e 19th.

Rector. Mr Dey. *Value.* £60 per Annum.

Patron. }
I^d of the Mannor. } Mr Edwards of Huntingdon.

The Church-Yard wants fencing and weeding.

The Church-Seats want boarding and floaring.

The Font is foul and wants a Plugg and Cover.

The Church and Chancell want Plastering, whiting.

The Chancell Pavem^t is sunk. The Carpet not laid on.

Noe Homilies, noe Hood, noe booke of Cannons.

The Chest wants 3 Locks y^e Register to be kept there.

The Altar to be fastned. The Belfry full of Heaps of dust.

It rains in upon the Readers Pew. A Terrier to be renewd.

The Parsonage house mean some part of it ruinous, yet £300 layd out upon House and Outhouse but some few years since by the Present Incumbent.

Somew^t given for y^e repair of a Causey to y^e Church.

7 or 8 Acres of Land given to y^e Church and poor, but now embezild.

About 7 or 8 Communicants. Town stock 2 Cows, but now imbezilled.

One Dissenter of Holcrafts, but Shees Excommunicate.

Some suspected of Fornication.
But 13 Families. Six of them Cottagers. Noe Gent'.

[9. 1] XXXI. GREAT SHELFORD. *Sept. 20th.*

The Vicar. Mr Crompton held by Sequestration.

Patron. Y^e Bp. of Ely.

Value. 20 mark per annum.

Coll. Turner of Saffron-Walden tenant to Jesus Coll.

The Parsonage worth 200 per annum, 70 or £80 per annum
lost in the Saffron.

Scarce anything mended here this 40 years.

The Church Seats want boarding. The Font well.

The Church and Chancell want whiting.

The Vestry all ruinous. The Register to be better kept.

A good Vicaridge House.

Tenn pounds per Annum to y^e Poor. 2 or 3 Dissenters
Excomm'.

Gent', Mr Baron and his nephew.

The Chancell roof	} all rotten.
the Leadwork	
The Stonework	
The Timber	

A good Vicaridge House.

Constant Catechizing and keeping Holy days.

[9. 2] XXXII. TRUMPINGTON. *Sept. 22^d.*

Dr Linnet *Vicar.*

Value of Mr Thorndikes Augment: £70 per annum.

The Vicar stands to reparations.

The Lease worth £140 per Annum. The Vicar pays £70
per Annum to y^e Coll.

The Bible wants many Chapters.

The Register to be kept in y^e Chest under 3 Locks.

The Side-Chappell wants paving.

Some Seats want Boarding. Noe Booke of Homilies.

The Church-Yard ill fenced.
 The Vicaridge-house in good plight.
 About 70 Families. but one Stiff dissenter.
 The Town-house 3 Tenem^{ts} or Cottages.
 Constant Catechizing and keeping Holydays.
 Gent' Mr Whitlock. Mr Thompson. Mr Jo. Baron.

[9. 2] XXXIII. OVER. Aug. 7th. Mr King.

Vicar. Mr King.
Patron. Trin. Coll.
 Mr Kirby *Impropiator*.
 The Church needs adorning. Noe Patin.
 The People lazy, heedless, noe Conventicles.
 Noe Gent', all Farmers. Noe House for y^e Vicar.

[9. 2] XXXIV. RAMPTON. Aug. 7th.

Rector. Mr *Value.* £80.
Patron. S^r Will. Leman of North-Hall.
 The Church Thacht Dilapidated and very nasty.
 The Chancell w^{ch} formerly had been seild, now much decayd
 in y^e roof and y^e timber rotten.
 The Windows all over-broaken, the Pidgeons horribly as
 well as Owls bedaub y^e Church.
 The pavement very bad foully¹ and to be mended.
 One Dissenter, a Quaker. All Farmers.
 about 60 Souls. Goodwife Smith a Whigg Scool-Dame.

[9. 2] XXXV. COTTENHAM.

Rector. Dr Fitzwilliams.
Patron. B^p of Ely. *Value.*
 The Table to be rayld in, the Church to be whited.
 £1 per Annum kept from the Church.
 Goody Purver a Whigg Unlicensed Scool-Dame.

¹ [The word seems to be 'faulty'. J.]

[9. 2]

XXXVI. WILLINGHAM.

Mr Southwold an Unlicensed Scoolmaster, the Scool worth
£9 per Annum¹.

[10. 1]

XXXVII. ELSWORTH.

Rector. Mr Dickens. *Value.* £150 per annum.

Patron. Mr Desbrow Hee L^d of y^e Mannor.

The Church and Chancell want whiting.

The Church-Seats want boarding. The Dore decrepit.

The font foul. The town-plough to be removed.

The Chancell Seats want boarding.

Constant keeping Holy-days. About 50 Families.

Noe Dissenters, 2 Sermons on Sundays.

Good House and Outhouses all in pretty good repair.

[10. 1] XXXVIII. LITTLE GRANDSDEN. *Sept.* 24th.

Rector. Mr Jessop. *Value.* £120 per annum.

Patron. B^p of Ely.

S^r R^t Cotton L^d of the Mannor.

The Church wants paving, boarding.

The Font nasty and wants a Plugg.

Noe Patin, Hood, Homilies, Cannons or Table of Degrees.

he gives the Bread upon a Napkin.

The Chancell-Windows stopt up.

The Chancell wants paving, whiting.

Severall Cracks in the Chancell to be mended.

Communions but twice a year none at Whitsontide.

The Church-Yard not at all fenced. None unbaptized.

The House very firm and good, the Outhouses well.

Noe Gent'.

£4 per annum to y^e poor and Church.

¹ [At bottom, upside down, evidently a false start, "Milton, Mr Bernard". J.]

[10. 1] XXXIX. LONG-STOW. *Sept. 25th.*

Rector. Mr Cross. *Value.* About £70 per Annum.

Patron. Mrs Simmons.

The Church a Pidgeon-house the Parish plough in it.

The West end crackt. Some Seats want boarding.

The Font stopt up wth Galt, noe Plugg and an ill Cover.

The Church-doar all broken, a new One to be made.

The Leadwork good.

The Chancell soe clutterd up wth a great Monum^t that it leaves noe Room for y^e Comunion Table. Order y^e removing of it into y^e side Chappell.

The Chancell in a wofull Case the Windows and Dore broaken.

The Surplice Communion-plate and Clerks Bible and Common-Prayer-booke stolen and y^e Chest broak.

The Broaken Pulpit to be mended, the Chancell Seats alsoe.

A Book of Homilies, a Book of Cannons to be bought.

A monum^t for S^r Ralf Bovey to be removed.

A new Strong house built by the Minester.

[10. 1] XL. EAST-HATLEY. *Sept. 24th.*

Rector. Mr Veivar. *Value.*

Patron. S^r George Downing.

Monstrous seats built in the Church, and a dore stopt up wthout Leave.

The Old Font used to make steps to y^e Stable.

A Bell broaken, one of 3 remaining.

The Way to y^e Church stopt up. An ill Pulpit.

A broaken Chalice. Noe Cover. Noe Flagon. Noe Patin.

Noe Hearse cloath, neither Homilies nor Cannons, noe Creed L^{ds} Prayer or 10 Command'.

The Register to be kept as it ought, and a Chest wth 3 Locks to be provided.

A Terrier to be forthwth made and delivred in to y^e Registers Office.

The house very mean and wants thatching.

[10. 2] XLI. HUNGRY-HATLEY. *Sept. 25th.*

Rector. Mr. Thorey. *Value.* £80.

Patron. S^r R^t Cotton.

A Composition here between y^e Minester and the Encloser.

The Font is foul, noe Lead, and y^e Cover rotten.

The Chancell wants paving.

S^r R^t Cotton has promised to adorn and beutify it.

The Chest has 3 Locks, order the Register to be kept there.

Catechizing and keeping Holydays. Noe Dissenter.

12 Families and about 30 Communicants.

The Parsonage house firm and Fine.

Order A Terrier to be brought into the Office.

[10. 2] XLII. GAMLINGAY. *Sept. 25th.*

Parson. Mr Slaughter.

Vicar. endowd Mr Osborn.

Patron. B^p of Ely.

The Leadwork well, but y^e Church slovenly.

The Font foul noe Plugg, they use a Bason, forbid it for y^e future.

The Church-Seats want boarding.

The Vestry wants a floor. They want a Book of Cannons.

The Chancell wants paving and whiting.

The Altar-Rayls now standing at y^e West-end to be re-stored to y^e Altar.

The Vicaridge-house most wretched.

The Parsonage house much Dilapidated.

The Scoolmaster teaches without a Licence and is Ex-communicate.

Above a 100 Families.

About 30 or 40 unbaptized followers of Cummin y^e Tinker.

[10. 2] XLIII. TOFT. *Sept. 25th.*

Rector. Mr Boulton of X^t Coll.

Value. £80 per Annum.

Patron. X^t Coll.

Curate. Mr Holdsworth.

About 30 Families, noe Gent'.

The Church wants pointing, it rains in as alsoe into a side chappell soe that the walls are rotted, y^e side Chappell on y^e other side most foul and nasty.

The Church Seats want paving much and boarding,

The Partition Seats between y^e Chancell and y^e Isle broak down soe that all lies open.

Noe Hood, Homilies, Canons nor table of Degrees, noe Book for y^e Clerke. Noe Patin, noe Register belongs to y^e Parish, qu. in whose keeping and order a new Chest wth 3 Locks for it.

The Font nasty, noe Plugg and a rotten Cover.

Mortar made in the Church, heaps of Brick, Stones, Dust all over it.

A great Crack in the Chancell plastering and whiting much wanting y^e Chancell all fould wth Pidgeons, y^e Church a Dove-house. The Dore in y^e Chancell rotten.

Noe Catechizing, no Holidays, not 30th of Jan^{ry}, 5th of Novem^r, 29th of May.

A very Dangerous Crack in the Steeple.

Many great Cracks in y^e Chancell quite thoro y^e walls lean extreemly noe way but to sequester y^e Living.

The Porch wants tiling.

The Church-yard very full of Weeds and Elders.

The Parsonage house well built but extremely neglected y^e Sparrs on y^e one side broaken. Huge Cracks, all wants underpinning, very good outhouses, Brew house, Bake-house, Barn, Stable.

The fence to y^e House falln down, another Fence to y^e Courty^d taken away.

[10. 2] XLIV. COMBERTON. Sept. 25.

Vicar. Dr Lewes. *Value.* £34 per Annum.

Curate. Mr Doughty of Emanuel.

Parson. B^p of Ely.

Patron. Jesus Coll.

Tenant to y^e B^p, S^r Edward Nevill Sergeant.

Under Tennant, Dan. Battle who pays £70 per Annum.

The Vicaridge-house very mean.

The Church tho very handsome and seems Firm wants boarding or paving in y^e seats.

A new Bible and a book for y^e Clerk wanting.

Noe Patin, Homilies, Canons, nor Hood, y^e Chest wants 3 Locks for y^e better keeping of y^e Register.

The Chancell wants whiting, tiling, pointing.

A Heap of Stones and Lime scuttles and rubbish elsewhere to be removed out of the Church.

The Font wants a Plugg.

About 50 Families, noe Dissenter.

The Parsonage House very Ordinary but in tolerable repairs and y^e out-houses new built since burning.

[11. 1] XLV. ALL-HALLOWS. *Sept. 26th. CAMBRIDGE.*

Vicar. Mr Wakefeild of Jesus Coll.

Patron. Jes: Coll:

Value. About £20 per Annum all benevolence.

A poor mean Vicaridge house Dilapidated.

The Church very handsome and neatly adorn'd they intend an Organ.

The Chancell Seats want boarding the Windows want mending.

The Bible is Defective and wants binding.

The Chalice Cover is broaken. A Table of Degrees wanting.

The Font wants a Plugg they use a Bason.

The Church foul w^{ch} is y^e Clerks fault.

Some Dissenters, several Quakers, one Muggletonian.

but 3 Sacram^{ts} yearly.

Constant Catechizing and keeping Holy-days but not in y^e Afternoon.

[11. 1] XLVI. TRINITY CHURCH. *Sept. 26.*

Vicar. Mr Thomkinson.

Value. Scarce £20 per Annum all benevolence.

Patron. B^p of Ely held without Institution.
 The Church very well they promise whiting.
 Vicaridge house very well and lets for £30 per Annum.
 The Tanner (a Dissenter) hangs Skinns on y^e Church walls.
 A heap of Dung laid in y^e Ch: Yard and carried out thence
 the Stable dore opening into it, the Ch: Yard is made a
 thoroughfare.
 A Table of Degrees wanting.
 The Register to be kept under 3 Locks.
 One unbaptized. Many Dissenters.
 One Margaret Love a Dissenting School-Dame.

[11. 1] XLVII. S^T ANDREWS, CAMBRIDGE.

Vicar. Mr Corey of Bennet.
Value. About £40 per Annum.
Patron. Dean and Ch: of Ely.
 Monstrous huge Seats, noe hearse-Cloath, noe Patin.
 Noe Vicaridge-house, noe Prayers on Wednesdays nor Fri-
 days not constant Holy-days.
 Some not many Dissenters. Not constant Catechizing.
 None known unbaptized. The Register to be better kept.

[11. 1] XLVIII. ROUND CHURCH, S^T SEPULCHERS, CAM-
 BRIDGE.

Vicar. Mr Barker of Magdalen Coll.
Value. About £20 per Annum Benevolence.
Patron. The Parish.
 The Minister has noe Licence. The Church is very well.
 The Bible wants y^e last Chapter.
 The Church and Chancell to be whited.
 The Sentences obliterated to be restored.
 Lumber and dirt to be removed out of the Church.
 The Chest to have 3 Locks, and the Register to be kept
 there.
 None known to be unbaptized.

Some Excommunicate Dissenters.

Constant Catechizing and keeping of Holy-days.

The Church once a Synagoue it has cost much repairing.

[11. 1] XLIX. ST CLEMENTS CAMBRIDGE. *Sept.* 26th.

Vicar. Mr Linford unlicenced, uninstituted.

Patron. Jesus Coll. *Value.* Benevolence.

The Font wants a Plugg. A new Table. .

The Register to be better kept. The Chancell falln.

Seats to be removed and the Altar wth Rails to be restored.

Severall Excommunicated.

[11. 2] L. S BUTTOLF, CAMBRIDGE.

Vicar. Mr Cook of Queens. *Value.* £20 per Annum.

Patron. Queens Coll.

The Font is foul.

They are to repair y^e Chancell wherein there is a great Crack.

The Church-Warden promises whiting they have laid out much money.

A Patin (of Silver it may be) to be bought.

[11. 2] LI. LITTLE ST MARIES. *Oct.* y^e 6th.

All very well.

Mr Bickerton, *Vicar*.

Constant Preaching, Catechizing, Holy-days.

[11. 2] LII. ST EDWARDS CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE. *Oct.* y^e 6th.

Vicar. Mr Tindall. *Value.* £20 per Annum.

Patron. Trin. Hall.

A very Dark Church it needs whiting and plastering.

The Font foul they use a Bason.

The Windows broaken extremely.
 Some Seats want mending. A Hears cloath wanting.
 The Steeple to be new Cased.
 A Great Crack over y^e Kings Arms.
 A Book of Cannons wanting.
 The Church-wall wants Coping, the Stones are thrown down.
 y^e Register to be better kept.
 Constant Catechizing. Prayers twice a Weeke.

[11. 2]

LIII. GREAT ST MARIES.

Curate. Mr Scot of Trinity. *Value.* £28 per Annum.

Patron. Trin. Coll.

The Font without a Plugg.

The Rayls to be restored.

The Church ill paved, the floar in many places sunk.

The Register to be kept under 3 Locks and Keys.

Order y^e Minester to have Prayers on Wednesdays and Frydays.

Noe Constant Catechizing.

3 or 4 Dissenters Excommunicated very obstinate Holdcrafts disciples.

8 or 9 will not come to Church.

[12. 1] LIV. GRANDCHESTER. *Sept.* 27th. Sunday.

Vicar. Mr Shorting, Conduct of Kings Coll.

Value. About £50 per Annum.

Patron. C. C. C.

A good new built Vicaridge House.

A good hansome Church and in good order.

The minister resides.

Both Church and Chancell want pointing.

O. A good Font but with an ill Cover and noe plugg.

O. A Table of Degrees.

O. The Seats want boarding.

The Chest ought to have 3 Locks for y^e keeping of y^e Register.

A Patin to be bought. Noe Gentleman.

Never a Dissenter. £7 per Annum to repair y^e Church.

[12. 1] LV. HARLETON. *Sept.* 27th.

Rector. Dr Cook. *Value.* £100 per Annum.

Patron. Jesus Coll.

Chest and Chancell fine and firm.

The Seats want some boarding.

Some paving to be Orderd, and some Wainscoating in y^e Chancell Seats.

About 30 Families about 70 or 80 Communicants.

O. One one Excommunicate Woman.

The Curate ought to have a Licence.

[12. 1] LVI. BARTON.

Vicar. Mr Witty. *Value.* £40 per Annum.

Patron. B^p of Ely.

Impropriator. Kings Coll.

The Church made a Dovehouse a heap of Lime in the Church porch.

The windows at both ends much broaken.

The Font foul, noe Hole in it, a load of rushes by it, they use a Bason or rather a black nasty Dish. Noe Patin, noe book for y^e clerk.

The seats to be new boarded in Church and Chancell.

The altar now broaken to be remended, the rayles to be refitted and set up again.

The Chancell door broaken.

Noe Constant Catechizing noe keeping Holy-Days.

A heap of Dirt behind the Altar, y^e Church and Chancell to be whited.

One Quaker. Some unbaptized.

Vicaridge house mean but pretty strong.

[12. 1]

LVII. IMPINGTON.

Vicar. Mr Lloyd. *Value.* About £50.
Parson and } Dean and Ch: of Ely who have given
Impropriators. } about £40 per Annum Augmentation.
Tenant. Mr Pepys.

Church and } want { tiling
 Chancell } { whitening
 { pointing
 { Plaistring

Heaps of Stones in y^e Belfry to be removed.
 That noe bason be used in Baptism.
 The Church Seats to be mended.
 The Font foul an ill cover and noe plugg.
 A great Logg in the Chancell to be removed.
 That they provide Homilies Canons, Table of Degrees.
 That they provide a Chest wth 3 Locks and y^e Register to be
 kept there.
 That y^e Altar stand Altarwise.
 Seldome Catechizing. Noe keeping Holydays.
 The Elder-Trees to be cutt down in y^e Ch: yard.
 About 25 Houses. Noe Vicaridge House.
 Mr Recorder Pepys Gent.
 S^r Tho: Willis has y^e Royalty for X^t Coll:

[12. 2]

LVIII. HISTON. *Sept.* 28.

Vicar. Mr Ashley. Resident.
Value. £60 or £70 per Annum.
Patron. S^r Tho: Willis.
Impropriator. Mr Robert Willis.
 The paving in y^e Alley now bad and sunk to be well laid
 and mended.
 A Chimney in the Church to be pulld down.
 The Church-Windows to be mended and secured from y^e
 Birds getting in.
 The Windows now want glazing.

The West and North-Doors of the Church want mending.

There ought to be 3 Locks to y^e Chest.

The Chancell wants Tyling, pointing, paving, plaistering, Whiting.

The Rails now in the side Chappell to be restored to y^e Altar.

A new Booke for y^e Clerk. The Bible to be new Bound.

A Herse cloath to be bought.

Ivy and Elder in y^e Ch: Yard to be cut down.

3 Female Dissenters. 1 Excommunicate.

Some Lands given to Charity.

The Vicaridge House well. About 80 Families.

[12. 2]

LIX. OAKINGTON. *Sept. 28.*

Vicar. Mr Palmer of Queens. *Value.* £40 per Annum.

Patron. }
Parson. } Queens Coll:

Mr Fortry Tenant for y^e great Tythes to Q. Coll.

The Church lies in great neglect like a Barn or Dovehouse.

The Kings Arms and y^e 10 Commandm^{ts} taken down.

Church and } want { Tyling
Chancell } pointing
plaistering
Whiting

A very Fine East window in the Chancell.

The Chancell wants mending in y^e outside.

A pitifull Carpet. Mr Palmer O. D. P. absent, sick.

The place served by strangers, a great mischeife to it.

The Clerke comes up behind y^e Altar.

The North-door in y^e Church now very rotten to be repaired.

A sad Pulpit. The Font nasty.

Heaps of Lime to be removd.

Homilies and Cannons to be provided.

The walls want much plaistring and the Seats mending.

The Leadwork on y^e North Isle wants mending.

A poor mean Vicaridge house but firm and much laid out upon it.

Q. a Register. Q. any unbaptized.

A Stranger comes every Lds Day soe that there can be noe Catechizing or Holy-days.

This y^e most scandalous Parish and worst in y^e Diocese for y^e people are most vile.

A Fanatick Schoolmaster Rob^t. Richardson.

3 or 4 Quakers and their Families.

Severall Excommunicated.

Mr Stutfeild.	} Gentl.
Mr	

[13. 1] LX. MELDRETH. Oct. 4th. CAMBRIDGSHIRE.

Sequestrator. Mr Todd.

Value. £15 or £20 per Annum.

Parson and } Church of Ely. Mr Hagger Tenant.

Patron. } *Value,* £140.

Mr Sedgwick L^d of the Mannor.

The Reading Desk stands strangely in y^e midst of the Church and noe Ledge to it.

The Church a Dovehouse. The Windows unglazed.

A Window stopt up by Mr Pikes monument.

Another narrow window stopt up.

The Sealing in the Chancell full of great Holes.

A Vestry stopt up.

A whole Vestry w^{ch} served for a Buttress pulld down.

Seats broaken miserably. The Chancell in a sad pickle.

The Graves uncovered.

The Gravestones lye about y^e Church and great heapes of other stones and dust.

About 60 Families.

A poor pittifull house w^{ch} y^e Clerk lives in y^e Vicaridge house.

The font foul, pavem^t very faulty.

Sacram^{ts} twice per Annum.

Noe Hood, noe Homilies or Cannons.

Many unbaptized Dissenters Mr Holcrafts Disciples.

Noe Gentleman. Mr Stacey an Attorney there.

[13. 1] LXI. WHADDON. Oct. y^e 4th.

Vicar. Mr Lion. *Value.* £50 per Annum.

Patron and }
Parson. } Church of Windsor.

Parsonage £160 per Annum. Tenant Mr Tempest.

The Font Wants { Cover and
 Plugg.

There want Inscriptions. Lumber to be removed.

Some Seats want boarding.

Three Locks to be made to y^e Chest.

the Register to be kept there. The Loft to be mended.

Some pavem^t of South and North Isles to be supplied.

A very good Vicaridge. about 32 Families.

about 2 Dissenters. Gent. S^r Henry Pickering.

[13. 1, 2] LXII. ORWELL. Oct. y^e 7th.

Rector. Dr Chamberlain.

Vicar. Mr Martin put in by the Rector.

Patron. Trinity Coll.

Value. Of the Parsonage £100, of the Vicarage £40.

School taught in the Church.

The Font much prophaned. Seats much broaken.

Pavem^t very faulty. A Fine Chancell. O. Rayls.

There wants three Locks.

The Bible now all torn to be bound.

The Register to be kept there under 3 Locks.

The Chancell Seats want mending.

The Chancell wants Plaistering.

About 60 Families.

Many Dissenters, about 30 Holdcraft and Oddyes Disciples
most of them Excommunicate.

The Pavement extreme faulty sunk uneven.

£12 per Annum given to repair the Church and to y^e poor.

It rains in in many places.

Homilies Cannons and Table of Marriage wanting.

The Vicaridge house falln down about 20 years.
 The Parsonage house well.
 Constant Catechizing except in exigencies.
 Noe Conventicle. Noe Gentleman.

[13. 2] LXIII. CROYDEN. Oct. y^e 7th.

Vicar. Mr Taylor, Resident. *Value.* £40.
Patron. Mr Slingsby. *Parson.* S^r George Downing.
 A Strange S^t Antholins Seat.
 They make their mortar in the Chancell.
 The Church open to y^e Air for tis now tiling.
 The Chancell new paved.
 S^r George Downings Vault wthout Leave. About 20 Families.
 The Font abominable wth a Clout in it.
 A great Crack near to y^e Belfry.
 The Wings or Side-Chappells all in ruins and want paving.
 Catechizing and Holy-Days. The Seats want boarding.
 One Common Prayer-book to be bound.
 A Trenchar for the Bread.
O. Homilies, Canons, Table. Register.
 Vicaridge house repaired. Chest wants Locks.
O. Church-yard.

[13. 2] LXIV. TADLOW. October y^e 7th.

Vicar. Mr Veivar.
Value. It goes into the Lease, but is about £30 per Annum.
Patron. S^r George Downing. A poor small church.
 About 10 Families. The Town Depopulated.
 A pittifull torn Bible. Noe Dissenter.
 Mr Veivar fails often.
 One Prayer book wanting. Homilies, Canons.
 A Chest with 3 Locks, Register to be kept there.
 The Windows broaken. Noe Seats in y^e Chancell.
 Sentences Obliterated.
 The Church wants tiling, pointing, Whiteing.

The Chancell newly repaired, Whited.
 A Foul nasty Font without Plugg or Cover.
 Heaps of Filth and Dirt.
 The Church Yard lies weedy and ill fenced.

[14. 1] LXV. BENNET CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE. *Oct. y^e 8th.*

Vicar. Mr Garret of Bennet. *Value.* £22.

Parson. }
Patron. } B. Coll:

The Chancell extreme fine. The Bible to be bound.
 The Ch: needs some plaistring.
 The Bible to be bound. One book to be bought.
 Cannons wanting. Constant Catechizing.
 The Church Yard used to dry Cloaths and Skinns.
 Noe Dissenters many Idle.
 The Arch-Deacon keeps his Court here.

[14. 1] LXVI. ST PETERS. *Oct. y^e 9th.*

Vicar. Mr Millington. *Value.* Not £10 per Annum.

Held by Sequestration.

The Bible unbound and imperfect.

A Book for y^e Clerk wanting.

A better Carpet to be provided. O. Table.

Church and Chancell need boarding in the Seats Plaistring
 and whiting.

The Register to be lockt up.

Severall Dissenters Independents.

Seats by the Altar to be removed. Noe house.

None Excommunicate. A Scool-Dame a Fanaticke.

£8 6s. 8d. per Annum to y^e Fabrick. Noe Patin.

Constant Catechizing and keeps Holy-Days.

[14. 1] LXVII. ST GILES CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE. *Oct. y^e 9th.*

Vicar. Mr Millington by Sequestration. *Value.* £8 15s.

Patron. Y^e B^p of Ely.

Tenant to y^e B^p S^r John Rouse who must repair y^e Chancell.
Value. £80 per Annum a great penny-worth.
Church and Chancell to be new whited.
Sentences for the Chancell.
A new Bible or the old new bound.
A Carpet to be like y^e pulpit Cloath.
A Book of Homilies and Canons to be provided.
S^r John Rouse to be sent to to seat y^e Chancell wth Deal.
A Book of y^e new Edition wanting for y^e Clerk.
The font foul. A Hearse Cloath wanting.
A Chest wth 3 Locks for y^e Register.
The Seats want boarding.
Some Dissenters. Anabaptists. Some Children unchristned.
Catechizing and Holydays.

XVIII. ON THE A B C AS AN AUTHORISED SCHOOL-BOOK IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY¹.

A DISCUSSION has been carried on for some years past concerning the nature of a book spoken of in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign as the *ABC*. By the foundation charter of a flourishing school near London the boys are to be taught the *Grammar* and the *ABC*. No doubt is felt about the meaning of the word *Grammar*; but opinions have been much divided as to the nature of the *ABC*, some holding that a mere spelling book is meant, others insisting that the book is an elementary religious book containing the rudiments of Christian doctrine as taught by the Church of England and in a measure published by public authority. On the solution of this nice question the future history of the school was to turn. If it could be shown that the *ABC* was an elementary religious book issued by public authority, it was supposed that the Endowed School Commissioners would not have power to secularise the foundation and divert its endowments to any other purpose than that of "education in accordance with the principles of the Church of England."

The question interested me very much from a bibliographical point of view; and, in consequence of a communication from one of the Governors of the school, I was induced to see what the accessible facts really were, and to send my friend the results of my investigation. It has occurred to me since, that the facts so collected might have an interest for some of the

¹ A Communication read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 24, 1875.

members of our Society. My letter, docked of its beginning and end, was as follows :

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
January 15, 1874.

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Let me give you as briefly as I can the results of my researches into the history of the ABC; two points concerning which now stand out with perfect clearness :

(1) It was an elementary book for children, containing the Alphabet and the Lord's Prayer, with other elementary religious matters necessary for a child to know.

(2) It was published by public authority, and was subject to modification from time to time according to the temper of the times, just precisely as the Prayer-Book was.

Four early editions of the ABC are at present known, and there are traces of four others, ranging from about 1538 to about 1640. These are amply sufficient to illustrate the statements made above with respect to the general idea of the work, and its modification from time to time by public authority.

A few facts put chronologically will help to a clearer view of the case.

1534. The Roman supremacy over the Church of England abolished by King Henry VIII.

1536. The printed English Bible first published in England.

1538. The Epistles and Gospels in the Communion service first printed separately in English and used in the service.

1544. The Litany in English first printed for public use in the Church service.

1545. The Primer (or Layman's prayer-book) as reformed by King Henry VIII first published.

1547. King Henry VIII died at the end of January, and King Edward VI came to the throne.

1548. Part of the Communion service first printed and used in English, in March.

1548. Queen Catherine died, in October.

1549. The English Prayer-Book first printed and used in Church, at Easter.

1552. The English Prayer-Book considerably revised, it is said under Bucer's influence, and printed.

1553. March 25. Letters Patent to John Day for the exclusive right of printing the English Catechism and the ABC.

1553. July. King Edward VI died and Queen Mary succeeded to the throne.

1554. The Stationers' Company incorporated.

1558. Nov. Queen Mary died and Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne.

1559. The English Prayer-Book again revised.

I will now say something of those editions of the ABC of which copies are known still to exist.

I. *London Printed by Thomas Petit, without date, but about 1538. 8vo.*

The earliest edition of the ABC I have been able to find is one printed by Thomas Petit, in London, and of which the only known copy is preserved among Abp Sancroft's books at Emmanuel College, Cambridge¹. This is in Latin and English. The essence of the ABC in older times was the Alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, and the *Ave Maria*. It seems not to have been until 1536 that the Creed and the Commandments were brought into prominence as matters of elementary teaching. Petit's edition of the ABC gives the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Credo*, both in Latin and in English; but the Commandments are not brought prominently forward at all. The Graces before and after meals are almost precisely those given in the Sarum Manual (or Book of occasional offices) in use in the unreformed English Church for centuries. Again we find here the parts of the service requisite to enable a child to *serve at mass*, as it is commonly called, or, as it is here expressed, to help a priest to sing (mass). Thomas Petit printed

¹ I have an exact transcript of this book.

in London from 1536 till a little into King Edward's reign; but, all things considered, I am satisfied that the present edition must have been printed about 1538.

II. *London, Printed by William Powell, without date, but probably in 1547.* 8vo.

The next edition is one printed in London by William Powell, of which the only known copy is preserved among Mr Grenville's books in the British Museum. This book has a semblance of public authority, though Powell was not the King's Printer, yet from the title it is clear that all others were to be set aside and this revised edition alone used. In what does this *revision* consist? First, the instructions for serving at mass are wholly omitted. This is of some importance in tracing the sequence of the editions. Secondly, the Commandments are here given in full, instead of being merely in the form of memorial verses as in Petit's edition. (3) Whatever could be taken from the Reformed Primer of 1545, here appears, agreeing with that. (4) The great variety of Graces before and after meals is here very much cut down and simplified. (5) A very brief Catechism is here added (with the elements of the Christian religion) which had no place in the earlier book. At the same time it must be noticed that this edition occupies a middle place between the earlier and later books, the catechisms being singularly colourless, avoiding any strong expression of reformed doctrine, thus pointing without fail to the very commencement of King Edward's reign, when the authorities were feeling their way, and were unwilling to give offence to either party. The printer, William Powell, commenced business early in 1547, at the beginning of King Edward's reign, and went on into Queen Elizabeth's reign. The prayer is sometimes for the King, and sometimes for the King, the Queen, and the Church. This can only point to a time when King Edward was on the throne, and the Queen Dowager (Catherine Parr) was still living. The date of this edition must therefore be 1547 or the beginning of 1548; and, from all considerations, it was most probably issued early in 1547.

III. *London, Printed by John Day, without date, but between March and July 1553. 8vo.*

The next edition of which we have a copy is the one printed in London by John Day under the authority of King Edward's Letters Patent dated March 25, 1553. Of this edition the only known copy is preserved in the library of Saint Cuthbert's College, Ushaw; but of this copy unfortunately only half (leaves 1, 4, 5, 8) has come down to us¹. Still enough remains to illustrate the points insisted on above, namely, the general idea of the book, and its modification by public authority. The Reformed doctrines had made great progress between the beginning and the end of King Edward's reign. These changes had found their way into the Prayer-Book published in 1552; and the effect of the change is seen in comparing Powell's and Day's editions of the ABC. The Lord's Prayer and the Creed correspond to the text in the Prayer-Book. The *Ave Maria* has disappeared altogether. The Commandments are exactly as in the Communion Service in the Prayer-Book, the petitions (Lord, have mercy upon us, &c.) being given after each. The Graces at meals are altogether altered. The old Catholic type of Grace has entirely disappeared, and a modern invention of the time supplies its place. Of the missing leaves, the contents of 2 and 3 are easily determined; and as for leaves 6 and 7, I have little doubt that after the Graces, which would end with the first few lines of leaf 6, there followed a very short catechism, such as in Powell's edition, which was followed in its turn by the very brief Graces with which Powell's edition and this of Day's both conclude. The types used in the book, and its general appearance, correspond exactly to those of the Catechism printed at the same time by Day, and which has the date 1553 and the King's Letters Patent printed at the beginning. A copy of the Catechism is in the University Library, Cambridge.

¹ I have an exact transcript of all that remains of this copy.

IV. *Dublin, Printed for the Stationers' Company, 1631. 8vo.*

The latest edition known is an Irish version of the book made under the care of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, and printed in Dublin in 1631. Two copies of this are preserved, one in the British Museum, and one among Abp Sancroft's books at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. I merely mention this to show that the book preserved its identity through a hundred years, and continued to be published by authority. In fact, the whole history of the Irish vernacular press illustrates and confirms this view in a remarkable manner. The first book published in Ireland in the Irish language was the Alphabet with the Church Catechism and Articles, in 1571. The next was the New Testament in 1602. The third was the Prayer-Book in 1608. The fourth was the ABC in 1631, followed by a second edition, of which no trace now remains, but which must have been printed before 1641. The only other Irish book known at all to have issued from this press is a modified reprint of this very ABC with the addition of Perkins's Six Principles of Christian Doctrine, which came out under the Commonwealth in 1652. So that, whichever way we turn, we find the ABC taking its place as a book of elementary religious instruction, by the side of the Bible and Prayer-Books and other Church books issued by authority.

I must now say a few words about those editions, alluded to above, of which copies have not yet been discovered.

I. *London, Printed by Richard Lant.*

Herbert, in his edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, page 590, mentions this edition thus: "*The A.B.C. with the Pater-noster, Ave, Crede, and Ten Commaundementtes in Englysshe, newly translated and set forth at the Kynges most gracyous commaundement.* It begins with five different Alphabets, and Gloria Patri; then, the Pater-noster, &c. Grace before meat, and after." What he says of its being printed only on one side of the paper merely implies that what he saw was a proof-sheet, probably used for binder's waste; but he does

not tell us to whom it belonged. We know of Lant's printing from 1542 to 1562, that is from sometime before the death of King Henry VIII. to sometime after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. From the words *newly translated* on the title, and from the existence of the *Ave Maria* in the text, I should be inclined to place this edition of the ABC between Petit's and Powell's editions. Herbert adds the words 'Licenced by the Company'; but as the Stationers' Company was not incorporated till Queen Mary's reign, and this cannot have been printed in her reign, the Licence must refer to an edition put forth at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, of which unfortunately not the slightest trace otherwise has come down to us. The Stationers' Registers will probably give the exact date of the Licence for this edition.

II. *London, Printed by Richard Jones, 1588.*

Herbert, in his edition of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, page 1046, has this entry among books printed by Richard Jones, under the year 1588: '*The A. B. C. for children, newly devised with syllables, the Lordes praier, our Belief, and the ten Commandements.*' In a foot-note he adds: 'This was allowed him again in 1590, on this proviso, *that there shalbe no additions made to the same hereafter.* But it was cancelled by order of a Court holden 15 May, 1605.' Here we find the ABC retaining its identity as in all the other cases, and also allusions to the insertion of unauthorised additions, showing that the book even in 1590 retained its character of an authorised school-book.

I am afraid I have fairly exhausted your patience, and that of any persons to whom you may communicate these remarks; but I am glad to have had an opportunity of carrying through an investigation which has never apparently occupied any one's attention hitherto, and which nevertheless has a great many points of interest in connexion with the history and literature both of the English Church and of English education.

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Note. Within a few weeks after my reading the above communication to the Society, I received from Dr Reeves, the Dean of Armagh, a copy of the ABC with the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, printed at Glasgow in 1852. So that where I have said that it retained its character for a hundred years, I might with equal justice have said three hundred. The details in this recent edition are of course in harmony with the doctrine of the Established Church of Scotland; but the old lines are all followed; the skeleton is the same; and the ABC of 1852 is the lineal descendant of the book issued in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

XIX. NOTICE OF A FRAGMENT OF THE FIFTEEN OES
AND OTHER PRAYERS PRINTED AT WESTMINSTER
BY W. CAXTON ABOUT 1490-91, PRESERVED
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BAPTIST COLLEGE,
BRISTOL¹.

AMONG Dr Gifford's Books in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol is a copy of the second edition of Caxton's translation of the *Mirror of the World*, printed by him at Westminster probably in the year 1490. But that the book was re-backed while in Dr Gifford's possession, the binding is very much in its original condition, wooden bevelled boards pierced by the ends of three stout bands fastened in by pegs of wood, and covered with dark brown leather, marked by double lines so as to form on each side a large panel, which again is crossed by diagonal double lines, each space thus left in the panel being ornamented with a lozenge-shaped device, being on the one side a sprig of flowers and on the other a fabulous animal. Whatever paper may have originally lined the board at the beginning of the volume, has long since disappeared; the only thing which now occupies the space is the College book-plate. At the end the board was lined with a sheet of printed matter, which after having suffered from various rough attempts to lift it from the cover, I have lately soaked off without any difficulty, by the desire of the Rev. Dr Gotch, the present Principal of the College, to whose kindness I am indebted for the opportunity of examining the book at my leisure.

¹ Published as Memorandum No. 5, November, 1877.

This fragment of printed matter consists of the chief part of a cancelled copy of the inner sheet (leaves 3, 4, 5, 6) of the first quire (sign. a) of the *Fifteen Oes and other prayers*, printed at Westminster by William Caxton about 1490-91. Each quire consists of two quarto sheets, one inside the other, so that the whole signature contains eight leaves or sixteen pages. The book when complete consists of 22 leaves, and evidently was printed as a supplement or appendix to a quarto edition of the Salisbury Primer or *Horae* now lost, and the two were incorporated into one volume in the reprint executed by W. de Worde within a very short time of Caxton's death. The only copy of the *Fifteen Oes and other prayers*, except the Bristol fragment, is one in the British Museum, which was purchased in 1851. It has been well described by Mr Blades in his *Life and Typography of William Caxton*, and it has been completely reproduced in photo-lithography by Mr Stephen Ayling. The Bristol fragment affords so much interesting evidence of the way in which the compositors of that day worked, and illustrates so many points in connexion with early printing in England, that I have thought it worth while to put down a few notes on the subject.

It has been assumed by many writers that the whole of one quire at least would always be in type at the same time; and they have calculated upon this basis the amount of type which a printer would possess at any one period. Now, so far from this holding true in Caxton's case, even at the end of his career, this book proves clearly that in a quarto book printed in 2-sheet quires (that is, with eight leaves to the signature) the outer and inner sheets of each quire were set up successively, the inner sheet after the outer sheet had been wholly worked off and the type distributed into its boxes. If any one will take Mr Ayling's photo-lithographed reproduction of the British Museum copy of the *Fifteen Oes*, he will easily understand what I mean. Round each page are four border-pieces of different widths. Of each of these there are eight different kinds; four of which are used for the four pages which are imposed on the one side of the quarto sheet, and four others which are used on the four pages which occupy the other side of the

quarto sheet. So that the eight pieces of each kind, which are found on the eight pages of the outer sheet of a 2-sheet quire, will all be found used again on the eight pages of the inner sheet of the same quire.

This book further shows us that, assuming that one compositor was employed on the outer four pages (1, 4, 5, 8) of a sheet, and another on the inner four pages (2, 3, 6, 7), the pressman would, when the compositor of the outer side was ready with his work, print off the required number of copies of these four pages, and then allow the type and border-pieces, used for these four pages, to be distributed, in order that the same compositor might proceed to use them for setting up his side of the next sheet, whatever it might be. Again, when the compositor of the inner side of the same sheet was ready with his work, the pressman would 'perfect' the sheets, already printed on one side, by laying them on the form and so passing them through the press; after which the type and border-pieces of this form also would be distributed, and this compositor would proceed to use them for his side of the next sheet, that is to say, whichever side his fellow-compositor was not engaged upon. Now every one who has come into contact with the details of printing, must be aware that wrong 'perfecting' is one of the most fruitful sources of printer's waste. If the pressman happened to lay the half-printed sheet the wrong way upon the form which contains the other side of the sheet, the necessary result would be that the pages of a quarto sheet would read 1, 6, 7, 4, 5, 2, 3, 8, instead of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and the sheet so mis-printed would be for all practical purposes wasted. This is what has happened to the Bristol sheet of the *Fifteen Oes*, and it was consequently soon relegated to the bookbinder's department (for in Caxton's time printers were for the most part their own bookbinders), and it was there used for lining the boards of the first book which happened to want binding.

But the above facts are illustrated and confirmed in a remarkable manner by an examination of the Bristol fragment itself. The most cursory comparison with the British Museum copy, or with Mr Ayling's photo-lithographed reproduction of it,

shows that while the inner four pages of the Bristol sheet are precisely identical in composition with the British Museum copy, the composition of the outer four pages is entirely different. The following explanation of this peculiarity seems to me the only one possible. The mistake in 'perfecting' must have been discovered after the type of the outer side (sign. a 3^a, 4^b, 5^a, 6^b) had been distributed and the compositor had gone on to the outer sheet of signature b, but while the inner side (sign. a 3^b, 4^a, 5^b, 6^a) was still standing in type, though after a number of copies had been printed off. The result is that the inner side was at once used again¹, and the required number of copies worked on fresh sheets of paper; whereas the outer side had to be set up again completely by the compositor, and, when ready, was of course taken off on the blank side of the newly printed copies of the inner four pages.

This statement of details may perhaps be hardly intelligible to the ordinary reader, while it may be looked upon as a series of truisms by any one conversant with printing; but I have not scrupled to give them, because experience tells me that few even of those most conversant with modern printing can be trusted to form an accurate opinion of the very rudimentary methods which most of the early printers employed. It would hardly be believed that Caxton had been more than fifteen years at work before he arrived at the point of printing four pages at once; yet all experience shows that it was so.

A case of precisely the same mode of working attracted my attention some years ago in the Lambeth copy of the *Primer* or *Horae* printed in Caxton's house by Wynkyn de Worde, and probably the first edition which incorporated with the Salisbury *Primer* the English *Fifteen Oes and other prayers*, which form the volume of which the Bristol fragment is a sheet. The

¹ I ought to mention that there is one variation noticeable between the Bristol and British Museum copies of the inner side of the sheet, though in other respects they are identical. The outer border-piece on sign. a 3^b is in the Bristol fragment upside down, while in the British Museum copy it

is the right way up. This merely shows that just before printing off the new batch of the inner side of the sheet from the still standing type, it was noticed that this border-piece was upside down, and this having been rectified the copies were struck off.

Primer I speak of must have been printed by W. de Worde, about 1494. Dr Maitland in his *List of some of the early printed books...at Lambeth* (London, 1843, 8vo.) has a note (p. 394) on this volume, in which he mentions incidentally that in one of the 'two lytell prayers which kynge herry the syxte made,' the words run 'prout tibi placet' in the Lambeth copy. Now we have two copies of this Primer at Cambridge (G. 3. 61 and G. 4. 4 in the University Library, both from the Moore Collection of 1715), and though I had always thought, having only seen them apart, that they were identical with the one at Lambeth, yet an examination of our copies at once showed that the reading in the prayer was 'prout tibi placeret.' I borrowed the book from Lambeth by the kind offices of my friend Mr S. W. Kershaw, and I was then still more puzzled, on going through the two books page by page, to find that they were absolutely identical in composition. When however I came to the outer side of the outer sheet of the quire signed f, I found the two were entirely different; but a little observation led me to the conclusion that, as the page was originally set up, the reading had been 'prout tibi placeret,' and that, after the type of the outer side of the sheet had been distributed, but while the inner side was still standing in type, the printer or editor had thought it better to correct the word 'placeret' to 'placet.' Accordingly a fresh batch of copies was printed of the inner side (sign. f 1^b, 2^a, 7^b, 8^a), and this sheet was then 'perfected' by a re-composition of the four outer pages (sign. f 1^a, 2^b, 7^a, 8^b); everything else in the book remaining the same. Having thus gone through this process in the case of the Lambeth volume seven years ago, it can easily be understood that, when the Bristol fragment came into my hands, I was prepared for the case at once, and saw in a very few minutes the real nature of the fragment, and how it came to be used as lining for the boards of a book printed in Caxton's office.

But this is not all that an examination of the Bristol fragment brings to light. Both sides are disfigured by a considerable amount of printer's ink, a 'set-off' from wet pages which have themselves not been preserved to us. Those on the outer side, at least pages a 4^b and 5^a, contain a 'set-off'

from a form of four octavo pages in the type of the *Book of good manners*; and the length of the lines, the 17 lines to a page, and the traces of red printing, leave little doubt on my mind that they belong to a waste sheet of the octavo Primer or *Horae* with red printing, which is at present only known from the fragment (sign. d 1, 2, 3, 4) found by Mr Maskell in the binding of a book, and given by him to the British Museum in 1858. From this we may infer that in all probability the octavo *Primer* and the *Fifteen Oes* were passing through the press about the same time. Mr Blades and myself had come independently to the conclusion, that both books belong to the last year of Caxton's life (1490-91); so that this fragment affords an additional mite of evidence.

The inner side of the Bristol fragment is, however, still more interesting; as it gives us a 'set-off' of two quarto 22-line pages in the type of the *Book of good manners*, and enclosed within woodcut borders. It is much blurred, and I have not yet been able to make out many words, even with the aid of a looking-glass and a strong magnifying glass. 22 lines of this type correspond very nearly to 21 lines of the type of the *Fifteen Oes*; and it is very natural that we should find traces of another book enclosed in the same woodcut borders. I can only say at present that no book in this type and with woodcut borders has come to light as yet; though so many specimens of Caxton's press have been discovered in the last few years, that I do not in the least despair of coming upon more satisfactory traces of this book than we can expect to obtain from the blurred 'set-off' by means of which alone the fact of its existence has been revealed to us.

After all that has been said, it cannot be any matter of wonder that the fragments used for lining the boards of old books should have an interest for those who make a study of the methods and habits of our early printers with a view to the solution of some of many difficulties still remaining unsettled in the history of printing. I have for many years tried to draw the attention of librarians and others to the evidence which may be gleaned from a careful study of these fragments; and if done systematically and intelligently, it

ceases to be mere antiquarian pottering or aimless waste of time. I have elsewhere drawn attention to the distinction to be observed between what may be called respectively *binder's waste* and *printer's waste*. When speaking of fragments of books as *binder's waste*, I mean books which have been in circulation and have been thrown away as useless. The value of such fragments is principally in themselves. They may or may not be of interest. But by *printer's waste* I mean such pieces as this Bristol fragment; waste, proof, or cancelled sheets in the printer's office, which, in the early days when printers were their own bookbinders, would be used by the bookbinder for lining the boards, or the centres of quires, of books bound in the same office where they were printed. In this way such fragments have a value beyond themselves; as they enable us to infer almost with certainty that such books are specimens of the binding executed in the office of the printer who printed them; and thus, once seeing the style adopted and the actual designs used, we are able to recognise the same binder's work, even when there are none of these waste sheets to lead us to the same conclusion. I will mention a few of the instances which have come under my notice; but it is a new field of enquiry altogether, and I am only now beginning to work at it systematically.

1. In the binding of the Bristol copy of the second edition of the *Mirror of the world*, printed by Caxton, probably in 1490, we find a cancelled sheet of the *Fifteen Oes* printed at the same press about 1490-91; the fragment which has led to the present remarks. I am led therefore to the conclusion that the binding itself was executed in Caxton's office. I have had the two sides of the book photographed, and I hope they may be the beginning of a collection which will some day see the light, and so increase our knowledge in that direction.

2. The Bedford copy of the *Royal book* has (or had, when I saw it first in 1863) the boards lined with unused (and therefore, after date, waste) copies of one of Caxton's two editions of the *Indulgence* of Johannes de Gigliis issued in 1480. The binding is therefore probably Caxton's own.

3. A fragment of a copy of another of Caxton's editions of the last named *Indulgence*, was discovered by Mr Blades, with a mass of other specimens of printer's waste from Caxton's office, in the binding of a copy of Chaucer's *Boethius* in the Grammar School library at St Alban's. There can be no doubt that this book was bound in Caxton's workshop.

4. In Jesus College library I lately found a copy of the Latin Bible, printed at Cologne by Nicolaus Gotz in 1480, in unmistakeable English binding, and with the centre of every quire lined with fragments of unused copies of two editions of an *Indulgence* issued by John Kendale in 1480 and printed in the type used in London by John Lettou in 1480 and 1481. On going over to Oxford soon after, I at once recognised in the Auctarium a book printed by Lettou, on the binding of which the very same tooling was used; and I have no doubt that both books were bound by him.

5. In a copy of the *Dives and Pauper* printed in London by Pynson in 1493, now in the Bodleian Library, I long ago noticed that the old boards were lined at one end with an unused fragment of a Grammar printed by Pynson himself about the same time; while the other board was lined with an unused fragment of a copy of the *Servitium de Visitatione B.M.V.*, printed by W. de Machlinia in the type used by him in Holborn.

6. In the Minster library at Lincoln I found a copy of the *Expositio Hymnorum* and *Expositio Sequentiarum*, printed abroad, but containing at the end of each part a supplementary quire printed by Pynson. The book is in English binding, and the fly-leaves are portions of an octavo Primer or *Horae* printed in the type used by W. de Machlinia when living by Fletebridge. These last two books convey, to any one who works intelligently at these things, a fact which has hitherto not even been suspected, though nothing could be more natural. As Pynson is thus shown to have inherited W. de Machlinia's waste, there can be little doubt that, on leaving his master Caxton, he took up W. de Machlinia's press and carried on the business himself. W. de Machlinia was our first law printer, and though, on his disappearance after 1486, Caxton and his

successor W. de Worde were employed for a time to print the statutes, yet the law printing soon fell into Pynson's hands, where it remained as long as his press continued to work.

7. Some years ago I obtained from Mr F. S. Ellis a pad of leaves which had served for the board of a small octavo volume, which had evidently been bound by John Byddell while living at the Sun in Fleet street, in which house he succeeded W. de Worde. The fragments were every one, where traceable, pieces of Sun-printed books, ranging from the *Four Sons of Aymon*, printed there by W. de Worde in 1504, and hitherto only known to exist from Copland's colophon in his reprint of 1554, down to an otherwise wholly unknown edition of *Adam Bel and Clim of the Clough*, printed there by John Byddell in 1536.

These are only a very few of the many instances I have come upon in my own work ; and that, as I have said, is only in its first stage. When applied to foreign early printing, it is evident that if only Dutchmen or Germans could be persuaded to work patiently and methodically upon some such lines, the results would be infinitely more satisfactory and more fruitful than the baseless and frivolous speculations which disfigure even the best books at present written on the subject.

But I have said enough. I cannot regret the happy accident which led the Bristol book to find its way to Cambridge after the Caxton Celebration exhibition at South Kensington this summer. Neither can I sufficiently thank the Rev. Dr Gotch, the Principal of the Baptist College at Bristol, for the ready kindness with which he has allowed me the free use of the volume for more than two months.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
November 13, 1877.

XX. NOTE UPON THE VARIOUS SPELLINGS OF THE NAME OF ST ERASMUS IN THE CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF TRINITY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE, DURING THE YEARS 1504 TO 1530¹.

THE first volume of the Trinity Parish Churchwardens' accounts extends from 1504-05 to 1530-31. After this no accounts are entered till 1557-58, and this with two portions of 1558-59 and 1562-63, which were never properly entered, conclude the volume.

The Light of Saint Erasmus occurs in every account from 1504-05 to 1529-30 inclusive; but except elections of wardens of the Light, and receipts of money from them, or a note of the stock of wax in their keeping, the only entries which mention the name are these:

1507-08: Item paied to a Glasier for mendyng of the Glase wyndowes and for takyng down of two wyndowes on the south syde next Seynt Tro-
somus vj^s.

1513-14: Item payed to the glasyer for setting vp the pane of Glasse next Seynt Herasme iiij^d.

1518-19 (among the Receipts): Et de Thoma Johnson et Thoma Robynson Gardianis luminis sancti Jherasime vj^s. viij^d.
in factura vnus le beme² coram eodem ymagine j beme.

¹ Appended to a Communication upon the past History of the Church of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, read before the Cambridge Antiquarian So-

ciety, November 17, 1879, by the Rev. J. Barton, M.A., Vicar of the Parish.

² The *beme* here referred to seems to have formed the super-altar. In

This last entry may be compared with the following entry in the accounts of 1526-27 :

Item payed to M^r D^r Manfeld for a pece of tymber of xvij foot seint Georges beame iij^l. ix^d.

All the accounts mention a Light of St George, and in 1506-07 there is a separate account of receipts and payments connected with setting up the image of St George.

From the entry in 1507-08 it seems probable that the altar of St Erasmus stood against the east wall of the south transept at the end furthest from the nave. This may be enough to render it unlikely that the effigy discovered in the corresponding portion of the *North* transept is that of St Erasmus, even apart from other considerations. But that there was an altar of St Erasmus in the church is, I think, beyond all possible question. The clergy were no doubt many of them ignorant in Henry the Seventh's reign. But it is impossible to conceive that people should even then have confounded a Saint with a place of pilgrimage, as has been suggested. From one cause or another a great devotion to St Erasmus was developed towards the end of the fifteenth century. In a little printed Dutch prayer-book of 1484, in the University Library, there is a written supplement of devotions to St Erasmus. Again in Caxton's *Golden Legend*, which he finished so far as the text was concerned in 1483, there is no mention of St Erasmus; but in the re-issue printed about 1489, the legend of St Erasmus is added to fill up the vacant space at the end, and occupies the last place in all the subsequent editions. These are only two instances out of many, but they are enough.

As for the spelling of the name, it is undoubtedly much corrupted. But this is the case with other names, and cannot excite surprise. It occurs 33 times in English and 31 times in

Bp Alnwick's *Novum Registrum Ecclesiae Lincolnensis* the Treasurer is directed to provide on certain festivals "sexdecim cereos super trabem secus altare," on others "unum cereum super trabem altaris," and on others

again "tres cereos super trabem altaris." So the Light of St Erasmus would be *super trabem*, on the beam, which would be *secus altare*, behind the altar, and yet *coram ymagine*, burning before the image of the Saint.

Latin, and the following statement of the entries, written in order, only separating the English from the Latin, may be of use, beyond the immediate purpose of this notice, by serving to show what sort of corruptions were prevalent.

These are the sixty-four entries in the accounts, so far as the name of the saint is concerned :

ENGLISH.	LATIN.
1504-05 Sent Resemos leght (1)	1509-10 Sancti Heresemi (13)
Sent Tresymos leght (2)	1511-12 Sc'i Herasami (15)
1505-06 Sent Thressymos leght (3)	Sc'i Herasimi (16)
1506-07 Seynt Treseemos leght (4)	1512-13 Sc'i Herazame (18)
1507-08 Seint Trosomus (5)	Sc'i Herazame (19)
Seint Trasesomus lyte (6)	1513-14 Sc'i Herasme (21)
1508-09 Sent Treseemos leght (7)	Sc'i Herasme (22)
Seynt Rasamus light (8)	Sc'i Herasme (23)
of Seynt Rasamus (9)	1514-15 Sc'i Herasime (25)
Saynt Rasemus light (10)	1515-16 Sc'i Heraseme (27)
Seynt Rasemes light (11)	1517-18 Sc'i Jherasime (29)
1509-10 Seynt Rosamour liȝt (12)	Sc'i Jherasime (30)
1510-11 Seynt Rasomour liȝt (14)	Sc'i Jheraseme (32)
1511-12 Seynt Herasme light (17)	1518-19 Sc'i Jherasime (33)
1513-14 Seynt Herasme (20)	Sc'i Jherasime (34)
1514-15 Seint Herasime lyght (24)	Sc'i Jherasime (35)
1515-16 Saint Herasme (26)	Sc'i Jherasime (36)
1517-18 Seint Rasyne light (28)	1519-20 Jhereseme (39)
Sancte Jherasime (31)	1520-21 Jhereseme (42)
1519-20 Seint Jheresme light (37)	1521-22 Sc'i Erasimi (44)
of Seint Jherame (38)	1522-23 Sc'i Erasemi (46)
1520-21 Seynt Rasamus light (40)	1523-24 Sc'i Erasmi (48)
of Seynt Jherane (41)	1524-25 Sc'i Erassimi (51)
1521-22 Seynt Erasmus ligh (43)	1525-26 Sc'i Erasimi (53)
1522-23 Seynt Erasemyes light (45)	1526-27 Sc'i Erasmi (55)
1523-24 Seynt Rosamours light (47)	1527-28 Sc'i Erasemi (57)
1524-25 Seynt Roseamours light (49)	1528-29 Sc'i Erazami (59)
Seynt Errassme light (50)	Sc'i Erazami (60)
1525-26 Seynt Erasmours lyght (52)	Sc'i Erasmi (61)
1526-27 Seynt Erasmurs lyght (54)	1529-30 Sc'i Erasmi (63)
1527-28 Seint Erasmus lyght (56)	Sc'i Erasmi (64)
Scancte Erasmus lyght (58)	
1529-30 Scancte Erasmus lyght (62)	

In the earliest entries, which are in the handwriting of Harry Cresswell, one of the Churchwardens, the first syllable of the name is dropped and the *t* of the word *Saint* attracted, as

we are told is the case with the word *tawdry*, derived from *Saint Awdrey*. Later on, we find the first syllable, but it is aspirated, as is too common now. Still further on, the aspirate is turned into an I or J, as we hear many people say *years* for *ears*. The *a* of the second syllable becomes either thinned into *e* or broadened into *o*. The *s*, which even we sound as *z*, we sometimes find written *z*. The *sm* is very commonly separated by a vowel sound, as we often hear now in such words as *schis'm*. Finally the *us* at the end of the word is sometimes found *-urs* or even *-ours*. But it is of course a silent *r*; and the greatest offender in this way, Edward Heynes, who was Bursars' clerk of King's College, himself writes it with perfect correctness when he writes the word in Latin. The forms in *Jhe-* are almost exclusively in the handwriting of John Thirleby who was town-clerk of Cambridge, and father of Thomas Thirleby who was Bishop of Ely.

But enough, and perhaps more than enough, has been said to throw some light upon the altar of St Erasmus. No doubt the whole volume of accounts will soon be accessible in an easily legible form.

XXI. GODFRIED VAN DER HAGHEN (G. H.), THE
PUBLISHER OF TINDALE'S OWN LAST EDITION OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT IN 1534-35¹.

[The following notes were made two years ago, but, for want of some congenial medium of publication such as that at last afforded by the BIBLIOGRAPHER, were never communicated to any one. I mentioned the bare facts to Mr Fry and to Mr Stevens at the time; but no notice of them has hitherto, so far as I know, appeared in print.—H. B.]

I HOPE that my indefatigable friends, Mr Francis Fry and Mr Henry Stevens, will not take it amiss if an outsider, who has made no study of Antwerp printing during the Tindale period, comes forward with a suggestion as to the G.H., whose mark appears on the text-title of the original edition of Tindale's final revision of his English version of the New Testament, printed in 1534-35. It seems to me that it only needs to be stated to be accepted; and I can but wonder that those who have given minute attention to the subject should have been driven to hazarding unsatisfactory conjectures, when the facts were patent before them.

Mr Fry has recently published (4to. London, 1878), an invaluable work called *A Bibliographical Description of the Editions of the New Testament, Tyndale's Version in English,...* illustrated with seventy-three plates. It is simply a storehouse of facts upon the subject; and it is here that we have for the first time a clear statement of Tindale's work upon the New Testament, unclouded by the confusion caused by the want of knowledge from which previous writers suffered. The sequence of the editions, certainly issued before Tindale's death in 1536, now stands out plainly for any one to see.

¹ From the *Bibliographer*, No. I., December, 1881.

Let me here say one word as to the spelling of Tindale's name. It is not perhaps a matter of any grave importance; yet, if there be any approach to consistency observable in the man's own habit of spelling his own name, in a time when the greatest inconstancy prevailed, it is at least more respectful to him, to adopt his own fashion. In his miscellaneous works, the original editions (which alone have to be considered) display a slight fluctuation between "Tindale" and "Tyndale," though "Tindale" predominates. But in his editions of the New Testament, which more certainly passed through the press under his own eye, the name is uniformly "Tindale." In the uncompleted quarto edition (No. 1 of my list below, 1525) the name does not occur; and in the first complete edition (No. 2, 1525 or 1526), we know that his name did not appear. But in his own second complete edition (No. 4, Nov. 1534), we find "Willyam Tindale" on the general title, followed by "W. T. vnto the Reader," and "Willyam Tindale yet once more to the Christen Reader." Again, in his own third and last complete edition (No. 5, 1534-35) we find "Willyam Tindale" on the general title, followed by "Willyam Tindale vnto the Christen Reader." Further, in the only autograph letter of his as yet discovered, which has been given in facsimile by Mr Fry, from the original in the Brussels archives, the signature is "W Tindal^s," or as we should write it, without the mark of abbreviation, "W. Tindalus." It is a Latin letter written in the winter of 1535-36. With these facts before me, I am content to reject the casual spelling adopted by Mr Fry and most writers on the subject, and to revert to what I feel justified in considering Tindale's own habitual mode of writing his own name; and I hope that others will follow my example.

I have said that, thanks to Mr Fry's labours, the sequence of the early editions of Tindale's version of the New Testament, issued during his lifetime, stands out clearly. It may be put briefly thus:

1. 4to. Printed at Cologne, by Peter Quentell, in 1525. Only ten sheets had been printed, when the work was forcibly interrupted, and all further progress in the edition seems to have been stopped. One copy, wanting the first leaf (with the

title) and the last two sheets, is preserved, in the Grenville collection in the British Museum. It has been reproduced in facsimile, with an introduction, by Mr Edward Arber.

2. 8vo. Printed at Worms, by Peter Schoeffer, in 1525 or 1526. This is Tindale's first complete edition. A copy, wanting only the first leaf (with the title), is preserved at the Baptist College, Bristol; and another, very imperfect, is in St Paul's Cathedral library. The Bristol copy has been reproduced in facsimile, with an introduction, by Mr Fry.

3. 16mo. Printed at Antwerp, by the widow of Chr. Endhoven, August, 1534. This is a freely altered reprint of Tindale's book (No. 2), by George Joye. One copy is preserved, in the Grenville collection in the British Museum.

4. 8vo. Printed at Antwerp, by Marten Emperowr [Martin de Keyser, Martinus Cæsar], the text-title dated 1534, the general title November, 1534. Joye's edition (No. 3) was published before the printing of this commenced. Many copies of this (Tindale's own complete second edition) are preserved, at the British Museum, Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere.

5. 8vo. Printed at Antwerp, by an as yet unknown printer, for G. H. [Godfried van der Haghen, Godefridus Dumæus], the text-title dated 1534, the general title 1535. Copies more or less imperfect are preserved in the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library, and in the Earl of Pembroke's collection at Wilton, all wanting the general title and preliminary matter. Mr Fry is the happy possessor of a copy containing the general title and a good part of the preliminary matter belonging to it. His work has made it perfectly clear that in this book we have Tindale's own third complete edition of his English version of the New Testament.

6. 8vo. Place and printer as yet unknown, the text-title dated 1535, the general title not as yet discovered. This is a reprint of the preceding edition, and is chiefly noted for the very peculiar spelling found in it. An imperfect copy is in the British Museum; one more perfect is in the University Library, Cambridge; and a third is at Exeter College, Oxford. None of these, however, contain any of the proper preliminary matter, or the general title.

From this list it will be seen that our knowledge concerning the printing and publication of the first four books is fairly complete, but that the printer of No. 5 is unknown to us, and the publisher as yet only recognisable by his trade-mark; while of No. 6 printer and publisher are alike unknown to us. Of the *printer* of No. 5 I have nothing to say. My object at present is to offer a suggestion as to its *publisher*, whose trade-mark bears the initial G. H. In Mr Fry's *Bibliographical Description*, page 13, he quotes Mr Henry Stevens as writing thus: "Matthew's New Testament has recently been proved by Mr Francis Fry, of Bristol, to be a reprint of Tyndale's last revision, the edition of 1534-5, with the combined initials of Tyndale and Van Meteren on the (2nd) title-page. Mr Francis Fry, under his No. 4, calls this edition G. H., but has hitherto been unable to explain the monogram. Our suggestion is that the G. H. means the translator, GUILLAUME HYTCHINS, the assumed name of William Tyndale; the other letters being the initials of the printer and proprietor I. V. M., that is Jacob van Meteren." Mr Fry adds: "I had made much search to discover the meaning of this monogram, but in vain. Mr Stevens' suggestion probably is correct." But Mr Stevens and Mr Fry have both of them done far too much valuable work to allow their names to be connected with a suggestion which only shows a complete misconception of the essential nature of the old trade-marks. A merchant's device may bear his initial, or not; but the notion of combining the mark of one man with the initial of another wholly independent person is an absurdity. I believe, too, that I should not be far wrong in saying that the initial which a man uses in his trade-mark is the initial of his name or names in the vernacular, and not in Latin or any foreign language which he may be led to use in the imprint of a book, because the book is in that language. My own suggestions are offered here chiefly as a sample of the way in which bibliographical problems of this kind may be simply and satisfactorily worked out; so I will at once proceed to my story.

An accident led me, a short time ago (May 2nd, 1879), to refer to Dr Boehmer's *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*; and, on opening the book, my eye lighted upon an entry (page 88) of the title of

the "Pro Carolo V. Imperatore Apologetici libri duo" of Alfonso de Valdés, published in 1527, at Antwerp, "apud Godfr. Dumæum." After noting the Serrure and Le Tellier copies of this rare work, Dr Boehmer suggests that an imperfect book in Mr Wiffen's library may be a copy of the edition issued by Dumæus. He describes it as defective at beginning and end, but as having at the beginning of Book ii. a merchant's mark with the initial G. H. Had Dr Boehmer not been at the pains to reproduce this trade-mark and initial in his text, my attention would never have been arrested. As it was, I instantly recognised in it the very device which Mr Fry's laborious investigations and numerous facsimiles had made familiar to us all as the trade-mark of Tindal's unknown publisher in 1534-35. I use the term *publisher*, rather than *printer*, because, assuming (as I did at that time on insufficient data) that the New Testament of 1534-35 was printed by the well-known Antwerp printer, Martin de Keyser, who had already printed Tindale's previous edition of November 1534, I had long ago concluded that the unknown G. H. was the publisher, or undertaker of the cost, of the edition of 1534-35, and not the actual printer of it. In Dr Boehmer's words there is nothing to show whether the concurrence of the name and initial presented the same conclusion to his mind which they did to mine, or whether he made the remark at random, on the assumption that a book might easily bear the name "Godfridus Dumæus" and the trade-mark of "G. H." without being in any way noticeable on that account. In any case he draws no attention to the point, and I may conclude, therefore, that it did not strike him as a fact of any particular interest.

For my own part, the moment I read his note, my instinct told me that I was on the track to discover the unknown G. H. The possible alternatives, if Dr Boehmer's suggestion were true, were these: Either G. H. and Godfridus Dumæus were the same person, or they were not; and the following results would become clear:

1. If they were not the same person, there were again two alternatives: either one would be the printer, and the other the publisher, of the book; or one would have succeeded to the

business of the other, and so Dumæus would have become the legitimate inheritor of the trade-mark of G. H., just as W. de Worde did of Caxton's at Westminster, and Redman of Pynson's in London.

2. If they were the same person, then G. H. would be the initial of the original Dutch name of a man who in Latin styled himself, after the fashion of the day, Godfridus Dumæus. I believe this to be, as I have said before, the universal law of trade-mark initials; and an instance happened to be very familiar at the moment, in the case of Tindale's own printer of a few months before, all of whose devices bear the initial M. K., for his Dutch name, Martin de Keyser, which he uses in the imprints of his Dutch books, though he habitually calls himself Martinus Cæsar, Martin Lempereur, and Marten Emperowr, in those of his Latin, French, and English books respectively.

But, as a matter of fact, long before all these alternatives and sub-alternatives had time to present themselves to my mind, I had arrived at the conclusion that *Dumæus*, a name till then unknown to me, but evidently nothing more than a derivative of *dumus*, a thicket, could only represent the well-known Dutch name, *Van der Haghen*, and that Godfried van der Haghen was the single name which would at once afford G. H. as its trade-mark initial, and Godfridus Dumæus as its Latin equivalent, to be used in the imprint of a Latin book. The first biographical dictionary that came to hand settled the point at once, by telling me of a Dutch Dominican friar of the sixteenth century, who called himself in literature Joannes Dumæus, while his native name was Jan van der Haghen. I felt it desirable, however, to confirm the conjecture started by Dr Boehmer's remark, and to see with my own eyes a book in which the name of Dumæus or its equivalent stood on the same title-page with the G. H. device. This wish was very soon gratified.

Shortly afterwards, Dr Westcott (to whom, from his interest in the history of Tindale's work upon the New Testament, I had at once mentioned my idea) sent me, from the Cathedral library at Peterborough, a small octavo volume containing Lily and Erasmus' *Libellus de octo Orationis Partium Constructione*, printed at Antwerp in May, 1529. It has at the end the early

separate device of Martin de Keyser, with the initial 'M. K.,' the motto 'Sola fides sufficit,' and the date '1525,' all in the cut, but without any imprint. At the beginning is the title, with the imprint, 'Godfridus Dumæus excudebat,' all within a border of four pieces, of which the lower one, forming the sill, contains the trade-mark and initial G. H., and is identical with that used on the text-title of Tindale's New Testament of 1534-5, as reproduced by Mr Fry. Here, then, was a further step reached in the investigation. The device, at the end, of the well-known Antwerp *printer*, Martin de Keyser, showed that the book was *printed* by him. The imprint and border of the title-page therefore showed conclusively that G. H., or Godfridus Dumæus, was the *publisher* of the book.

The next point was to ascertain whether an examination of the received history of the Antwerp press would bring to light any connexion or association in work between Godfried van der Haghen or Godfridus Dumæus and Martin de Keyser, or any one else engaged in the book trade at Antwerp. It is very necessary to trace out these business connexions, because it is only thus that we can get a true view of the nature of each man's proper line of business. If we find, where two names are associated in the production of one book, the one man's name connected with such phrases as *sumptibus*, *impensis*, etc., while the other uses of himself the word *imprimebat*, etc., we get a clue, which, taken as a guide in further investigation, frequently proves conclusively that the one man was a printer by trade, and perhaps occasionally a bookseller; while the other was a bookseller by trade, and never appears as a printer. Now the second portion of Panzer's *Annales Typographici* contains the best account of Antwerp printing from 1501 to 1536, which is at my disposal. Panzer gives seven books as bearing the name of Godefridus Dumæus. But of these seven, five bear also the imprint of Martinus Cæsar, whose name is connected with twenty-six books in the same list. Now a bare reading of the titles of these is enough to show, not merely that the two men worked in concert, but that the one was the printer, and the other the publisher, or undertaker of the cost, of those books, to which their names are both attached. Indeed, it is worth

notice that of all the books given by Panzer as printed by Martinus Cæsar, in which he is associated with any one else as publisher or undertaker of the cost, that publisher is Godefridus Dumæus; and of all the books given by Panzer as issued by Godefridus Dumæus, in which he is associated with any one else as printer, that printer is Martinus Cæsar.

In trying to show what I believe to be the simplest mode of solving a bibliographical problem, I can but point out the method which I adopted in this particular case. For this purpose I must give here the wording of the imprints of these books, as they stand in Panzer's list of books printed at Antwerp (*Ann. Typ.*, vol. vi., p. 12 and onwards). I will then add a few notes upon these entries, derived from such books as we happen to have in our University Library. The brief title of each work will further enable any one to look for copies in any library which may be within his reach. The references are to Panzer's numbers.

94. *Apud Godofr. Dumæum.* 1527. 8vo. (Latin.)
105. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* Nov. 1528. 12mo. (Latin.)
106. *Per Martinum Cæsarem.* 1528. 8vo. (Latin.)
107. *Typis et impensis Martini Lempereur.* 1528. 4 vols. 8vo. (French.)
122. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* Jan. 1529. 8vo. (Latin.)
123. *Godfridus Dumæus excudebat.* Mai. 1529. 8vo. (Latin.)
127. 1529. 8vo. (Latin.)
138. *Martinus Cæsar excudebat impensis honesti viri Godefridi Dumæi.* Nov. 12, 1530. 8vo. (Latin.)
139. *Par Martin Lempereur.* 1530. Folio. (French.)
146. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem impensis Godefridi Dumæi.* 1531. 8vo. (Latin.)
147. *Impress. per Martinum Cæsaris impensis honesti viri Godefridi Dumæi.* April 24, 1531. 8vo. (Latin.)
148. *Martinus Cæsar excudebat.* Jun. 6. 1531. 8vo. (Latin.)
149. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* 1531. 8vo. (Latin.)
151. *By Martin de Keyser.* 1531. 8vo. (Dutch.)
152. *Typis Martini Lempereur.* 1531. 8vo. (French.)
164. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* Apr. 1532. 8vo. (Latin.)

- 165. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* 1532. 12mo. (Latin.)
- 166. *Typis Martini Lempereur.* 1532. 12mo. (French.)
- 178. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* 1533. 8vo. (Latin.)
- 179. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* 1533. 8vo. (Latin.)
- 191. *Excudebat Martinus Cæsar sumptu et opera Godefridi Dumæi.* Febr. 1534. Folio. (Latin.)
- 192. *Par Martin Lempereur.* 1534. Folio. (French.)
- 193. *By Marten Emperowr.* 1534. 8vo. (English.)
- 212. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* Aug. 1535. 8vo. (Latin.)
- 213. 1535. *Impensis Godofr. Dumæi Martinus Cæsar imprimebat.* 8vo. (Latin.)
- 214. *Martinus Cæsar excudebat.* 1535. 8vo. (Latin.)
- 215. *Apud Martinum Cæsarem.* 1535. 12mo. (Latin.)
- 216. *By Martin de Keyser.* 1535. 8vo. (Dutch.)
- 226. *Excudebat Martinus Cæsar.* 1536. 8vo. (Latin.)

I have given these imprints simply thus, in order that they may strike the eye more readily. I must now make a few remarks on them in order.

No. 94 is the book by Alfonso de Valdés, which is noticed by Dr Boehmer. In the description of the copies with the above imprint there is no mention of any border or device. In Mr Wiffen's copy the subordinate title is described as having the border and device of G. H., while the general title, which would contain the imprint, is wanting. They must therefore be incompletely described copies either of the same edition of the book, or of different editions of it issued by the same publisher.

No. 105 is a Greek version of the Roman *Horæ* with a Latin title-page. It is really in 16mo., not 12mo., so that the title-page is too small to allow of any known border device. The Cambridge copy, moreover, wants the last two leaves, on one of which would probably be found the separate 1525 device mentioned above.

No. 106 is *Flores Senecæ*. No. 107 is a French Bible. No. 122 is *Petrus Mosellanus, Tabula de schematibus*.

No. 123 is the *Lily and Erasmus*, the Peterborough copy of which I have noticed above as containing the separate 1525 device of Martin de Keyser at the end, and the imprint with the border-device of G. H. at the beginning.

No. 127, to which Panzer assigns no printer's name, is an edition of Horace, of which we have a copy in our University library. It is printed in two parts; 1. Odes and Epodes; 2. Satires and Epistles. Part 1 has on the title "*Apud Martinum Cæsarem*," and at the end his separate device containing "M K," "1525," and the motto "*Sola fides sufficit*." The motto has been carefully inked out. Part 2 has on the title "*Apud Martinum Cæsarem*," and at the end the imprint, "*Antuerpiæ: Martinus Cæsar imprimebat, sumptu et opera honesti viri Godefredi Dumæi. An. M.D.XXIX. Mense Maio*." On the next leaf is the separate 1525 device, with the motto carefully inked out as in Part 1. There are no woodcut borders in either part.

Bound with this Horace is a copy of Juvenal and Persius, also printed in two parts, in small octavo. On the title of the Juvenal is "*Apud Martinum Cæsarem. An. M.D.XXIX. Mense Maio*;" and at the end the separate 1525 device, as in the Horace, with the objectionable motto inked out. The Persius bears on the title "*Apud Godefredum Dumæum. An. M.D.XXIX. Mense Iunio*." At the end there is no imprint, and no room for any device. These two also are without any woodcut borders. In matters of type and arrangement the Horace and the Juvenal and Persius are identical.

No. 138 is *Theodorici Corthoevii Bellum discors Sophiæ et Philantiæ*. I have not seen it.

No. 139 is a French Bible in folio. The title is within a border of four pieces, of which the outer one contains the device of M. K. The imprint is followed by the printer's new and less dangerous motto, "*Spes mea Jesus*." A copy is in our University Library.

No. 146 is Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani*. No. 147 is *Herm. Bodii Unio dissidentium*. No. 148 is an *Oratio* of Hen. Cornelius Agrippa. No. 149 is described as *Paup. subvent. forma apud Hyperas Flandrorum*. No. 151 is a Dutch New Testament. No. 152 is a French New Testament. No. 164 is *Erasmi Declarationes*. No. 165 is *Psalmorum Interpretatio Jo. Campensis*. No. 166 is a French New Testament. No. 178 is *Gulielmi Gnaphei Acolustus*. No. 179 is *Galeacii Capellæ de*

rebus nuper in Italia gestis libri octo. I have not seen any of these.

No. 191 bears the title *Biblia. Breves in eadem Annotationes.* Panzer gives the date February 1534, but our Cambridge copy has Jan. 1534, both on the title and at the end, where the imprint runs *Excudebat Martinus Cæsar pro honesto viro Godofrido Dumæo. Jan. 1534.* The book is a Latin Bible with notes, in folio; and the title is within the same border of four pieces (with the M. K. device in the outer piece), as the French Bible mentioned above, No. 139. The title to the index is within the same border, and bears the imprint, *Per Martinum Cæsarem. 1534.*

No. 192 is a French Bible in folio, which I have not seen.

No. 193 is Tindale's own second complete edition of the New Testament in English, No. 4 in my list given above. The title which commences the text has the imprint as above, with the date "Anno M.D.xxxiiij.," all within a border of four pieces, of which the lower one, forming the sill, contains the trade-mark and initial (M. K.) of Martin de Keyser, the printer of the book. The general title contains the date "...fynesshed in the yere of oure Lorde God. A. M.D. & xxxiiij. in the moneth of Nouember," and is within a border of four pieces, very similar to that round the text-title, but different, and having a blank shield in the sill.

Next to this comes Tindale's own third complete edition of the English New Testament, No. 5 in my list given above. It is in small octavo, like the rest. The text-title bears the imprint "Anno M.D.xxxiii.," and is within a border of four pieces, with the G. H. device in the sill, as in the *Lily and Erasmus* (No. 123 above), described from the Peterborough copy. The general title, prefixed to the preliminary matter, bears the imprint, "Prynted in the yere of oure Lorde God M.D. & xxxv.," and is within a border of four pieces, with a blank shield in the sill. The border-pieces are, I believe, identical with those surrounding the general title of the edition of November 1534 (No. 193 above), in spite of certain apparent and perplexing points of difference.

No. 212 is *Joannis Coleti editio.* No. 213 is a reprint of

the *Lily and Erasmus* (No. 123 above), only that here the full imprint is to be seen, showing precisely the relations of the printer and the publisher to each other. No. 214 is *Jo. Lud. Vivis De communione rerum*. No. 215 is *Precationes Biblicæ*. No. 216 is a Dutch New Testament. No. 226 is an edition of *Prudentius*. I have not seen any of these books.

Panzer's *Annales typographici* only come down to the year 1536. On turning, for information concerning the next few years, to his predecessor Maittaire, I found that both names, Martinus Cæsar and Godefridus Dumæus, had disappeared at once. In 1537 I find no trace of either; but as the succeeding years show evidence that both of them had successors in business, I must continue my list. My references are to the pages of the volume of Maittaire's *Annales typographici*, which deals with this period.

278. *Apud viduam Martini Lempereur*, 1538. 12mo. A French New Testament.

309. *Excudebat vidua Martini Cæsaris impensis Joannis Coccii*. Ult. Feb. 1539. 8vo. G. Lili De generibus nominum, etc.

310. *Apud Antonium Goinum*. 1540. Folio. This is described by Maittaire as *Biblia Latina*. We have at Cambridge an edition of the *Biblia Breves in eadem Annotationes* (a reprint of the one noticed above, under Panzer's No. 191), which bears on the title, and at the end *Excudendum curabat Antonius Goinus Anno MDXL*. There are no borders or device, but the types and initials seem to be those of Martin de Keyser; and, if my suggestion below should be verified, no doubt Antonius Goinus succeeded the widow of Martin de Keyser. This may be the book intended by Maittaire.

312. *Impensis Antonii Dumæi*. 1540. 4to. The book is *De Melancholia ex Galeni, Rufi...voluminibus collectanea...Matthia Theodoro Melanelio interprete*.

We have at Cambridge another book by the same translator, a version of Galen's *Utrum conceptus in utero sit animal*. At the end is the imprint, "Antverpiæ Impendio Antonii Dumæi excusum, Anno Christiano MDXL. Mens. Sept." There is no border or device; but the book is in quarto, and I have not

seen as yet any separate or border-device suitable for books of this size.

319. *Imprim. Antonio Dumæo Ægidius Copenius. 1540. 8vo.* This is the incomplete way in which Maittaire notices the imprint of the *Didascalus autore Jacobo Zovitio apud Brædanos ludimagistro.*

322. *Per Antonium de la Haye. 1541. Folio.* This is no doubt Maittaire's inaccurate Latin rendering of one of the imprints to be found in the French Bible of Jan. 12, 1541, of which we fortunately have a copy at Cambridge. At the end, after giving the exact date, we read, "En Anuers *par Antoine des Gois.* Spes mea Jesus." At the beginning, on the title, is "En Anuers, *pour Antoine de la Haye,* demourant au Pan de nostre Dame. An. M.D. xli." The types, cuts, borders, and border-device, are all those of Martin de Keyser, as used in 1534, in the Latin Bible noticed above under Panzer's No. 191; and the two years privilege granted to him Nov. 21, 1533, is here reprinted. It seems therefore fair to infer, from this book:

(1) That in "par Antoine des Gois," a phrase strictly used of a *printer*, we may trace the "Antonius Goinus" of 1540; and that he was the successor of the "Vidua Martini Cæsaris" of 1538 and 1539, and thus the legitimate inheritor of the trade-mark of Martin de Keyser, as a *printer*; and,

(2) That in "pour Antoine de la Haye," a phrase strictly used of a *publisher* or undertaker of the cost of a book, we may see the French name of the "Antonius Dumæus," at whose *impendio* or *impensis*, as a *publisher*, certain books were printed at Antwerp in 1540; and that he was the successor in this business of Godefridus Dumæus or Godfried van der Haghen, who published so many of the books printed by Martin de Keyser.

But, whether all these inferences be accepted or not, two facts result, I think, clearly from Maittaire's and Panzer's lists, as verified where possible by actual copies:

First, we have three several devices, with the initial M. K., belonging to an Antwerp *printer*, whose name appears as Martin de Keyser when the book is in his native language, as

Martinus Cæsar or Cæsaris when the book is in Latin, as Martin Lempereur when in French, and lastly as Marten Emperowr when in English.

Secondly, we have a border device, with the initial G. H., belonging to an Antwerp *bookseller*, who appears as Godefridus Dumæus when the book is in Latin (as all his books mentioned by Panzer are); while one who is to all appearance his successor is called Antonius Dumæus in Latin, and Antoine de la Haye in French books.

Judging from the fashion which we know to have been adopted by Martin de Keyser, and many other printers and *literati* of that day, I cannot but believe that both the Dumæi, Godefridus and Antonius, would appear with the name Van der Haghen, if we could but trace any Dutch books produced by or for either of them. Of my authorities, Panzer is eighty and Maittaire a hundred and fifty years old; so that a very moderate search in the present day would assuredly be rewarded by our finding more than one Dutch book of the kind.

After all that has been said, it will perhaps be assumed that I am prepared to maintain that Tindale's New Testament of 1534-35 was printed for Godfried van der Haghen (G. H., Godefridus Dumæus) by Martin de Keyser. But although I have brought forward a considerable amount of evidence to show the business connexion existing between the two men, yet Mr Fry's facsimiles, so far from leading me to assert that the book was actually printed by Keyser, rather tend to make me doubt the fact altogether. I have made no comparison of the originals, and Mr Fry's copies, being lithographed hand-tracings, are no doubt more or less unserviceable for purposes of minute comparison. But if they are even moderately faithful copies, it is impossible to accept the results, which he offers, of his comparison of certain cuts in the editions of M. K., November 1534, and G. H., 1534-35. Mr Fry says (page 59), speaking of the edition of G. H., 1534-35: 'It corresponds with the edition by Emperowr in the following particulars. The border of the first title of this edition is identical with both the titles in 1534. The woodcuts of the four Evangelists, the seven-line capitals A B F P T S... are also identical.' He proceeds to say

that nothing can be inferred as to the printer of a book from the identity of materials used. Now, in the first place, the borders of the two titles of the edition of M. K., 1534, so far from being themselves identical, as Mr Fry states, are wholly different, though showing a general resemblance in design. It is only necessary to look at Mr Fry's plate 3, to see differences in all the four pieces of the border, apart from the fact that the sill of the text-title contains the device of Martin de Keyser, while the sill of the general title contains a blank shield. In the edition of G. H., 1534-35, the border of the text-title consists of four pieces, of which the sill contains the device of G. H.; while the border of the general title appears to be identical with that of the general title of the preceding edition (Nov. 1534), and only differing in the presence or absence of certain perplexing breaks in the outer margin. Judging from this title-page alone, there would be no inconsistency, so far, in looking upon Martin de Keyser as the *printer*, and Godfried van der Haghen as the *publisher*, of the volume. Mr Fry proceeds, however, to say that the woodcuts of the four Evangelists (he might have added, of the Pentecost at the beginning of the Acts), and the seven-line initials A B F P S T, are identical. But on comparing his plate 4 (M. K. 1534) with his plates 6, 7, 8 (G. H. 1534-35), it is true that the identity of design is evident; but (if his tracings are at all to be trusted) the total difference of execution in minute details is equally patent. It is difficult to believe that the same printer would have duplicate letters and cuts so closely resembling one another, unless they were such as to be wanted for use more than once on the same side of a sheet, which of course cannot be said of these. That at least is my experience of the cases where such duplicates are found. A careful comparison of the numberless Dutch, French, and English New Testaments and other small octavos which issued from the various Antwerp presses about this period, made by one who has an eye trained to observe these minute details of printing, would, I feel certain, reveal this unknown printer.

It must be borne in mind too that it was a dangerous thing at this time to avow sympathy with a man like Tindale.

Martin de Keyser may have lost courage after printing the edition of November 1534. His bold motto "*Sola fides sufficit*," which he used (so far as I know) only from 1525 to 1529, evidently gave offence to some, as we may infer from the careful way in which it has been inked out in the Cambridge copy of the *Horace* and *Juvenal* of 1529. In 1530 he adopted the less compromising motto of "*Spes mea Jesus*," which was continued by his successor. Little is known of Tindale's own history during the two years which preceded his martyrdom in April, 1536; and as Martin de Keyser and Godfried van der Haghen both disappear in this very year, we can well believe that they must both have become aware of the perilous nature of their undertakings; and we cannot be surprised at the suppression of the name of the actual printer of such a book as the New Testament of 1534-35.

But, whoever may turn out to have printed the book, I cannot think that we need any longer hesitate to look upon Godfried van der Haghen as its publisher; and, this point being settled, the way stands open for a fresh investigation of the productions of the several Antwerp presses at which it may possibly have been printed.

If Panzer, the one true naturalist among general bibliographers, had more followers in the present day, our knowledge of these matters would advance very much more rapidly than it does. Put a book, about which you are anxious to learn something, among its fellows, that is, among the productions of the same and neighbouring presses, look at its surroundings for a few minutes, and your questions will solve themselves. You will be saved from all inducement to rash speculation. The facts will speak for themselves before you even have time to hazard a foolish conjecture. An examination of the actual books in Panzer's list alone would be sure to bring out many interesting points; and if my friend M. Ferdinand vander Haeghen will examine, with this view, some of the precious stores under his charge in the University Library at Ghent, I feel sure that his bibliographical instinct and well-trained eye could not fail to solve all these difficulties in a very short space of time. I have myself made no investigations worth mentioning,

and at this moment I have neither leisure nor materials for pursuing the subject. I was struck by an entry of Dr Boehmer's in his catalogue. I took down Panzer and Maittaire, wrote out the several entries of the kindred books, and looked at the half-dozen volumes on the list which our University Library affords. Certain conclusions were at once forced upon me. The book from Peterborough put the matter in a still clearer light, by just giving me that evidence at first hand, without which it is so difficult to feel anything like conviction. I mention these things merely to show that what is wanted for the solution of a bibliographical problem is not ingenuity of speculation, but simply honest and patient observation of *facts allowed to speak for themselves*. When will our leading bibliographers adopt this method in practice, and cease merely praising it in others?

[NOTE. Page 365. I may add two books which give earlier dates for Martin Keyser's widow and Antoine des Gois than those quoted from Maittaire.

Catalogi duo operum Erasmi ... Antwerpiae apud viduam Martini Cæsaris, expensis Ioannis Coccij circiter Calen. Augu. anno MDXXXVII. 8°.

Commentaria Viti Amerbachii in Ciceronis tres libros de Officiis. Antwerpiae excudendum curabat Antonius Goinus, Anno M.D.XXXIX. 8°.

Page 366. In 1884 the Vergauwen Catalogue (Part 2) enabled him to verify his conjecture. No. 27 is a Eusebius in Dutch 'Gheprent in...1534 Tantwerpen by my Govaert van der hagen.' F°.

Mr E. Gordon Duff informs me that in the *Registers of St Luke's Guild at Antwerp*, edited by Messrs Rombauts and Van Lerius, 'Govaert (van der Haghen), in de Pant, prynttere', occurs under the year 1533. He also gives me the description of a book (which may possibly be the same as that in the Vergauwen catalogue): *Die Historie die men heet Ecclesiastica*, gheprent MD ende xxxiiii Tantwerpen in onser Liever Vrouwen Pant by my Govaert Van der Haghen. 4°. J.]

XXII. THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LI- BRARY ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, CAMBRIDGE, SEPT. 5, 1882. WITH AN AP- PENDIX¹.

[THE details of the working of the University Library promised in the concluding paragraph of the following address were brought before the members of the Association when they visited the library on Friday afternoon, September 8, at the close of the meeting. They are here thrown into an appendix in a slightly fuller form.

Two notes are added, on questions intimately connected with the proceedings of the Cambridge meeting. One forms the introduction to a paper relating to local libraries considered as museums of local authorship and printing, which was to have been brought forward in connexion with Mr W. H. K. Wright's paper on local bibliography. The other is a contribution to the vexed question of size-notation, which formed the subject of a report presented to the Cambridge meeting by a Committee appointed a year ago.

H. B.]

‘What can the Library Association gain by visiting Cambridge?’ is a question which, if asked once, has been put to me fifty times and more during the past year. Now, while giving the Association a hearty welcome to Cambridge, as hearty a welcome (I can honestly say) as they have received, or are likely to receive, in any town in the kingdom, I feel bound, at the outset of our proceedings, to give some answer to this question; not so much, however, to satisfy the somewhat cynical, though perhaps legitimate, curiosity of those who ask, as to afford a clue to the stranger who comes among us, eager

¹ Published as Memorandum No. 7, October, 1882.

to gain experience in the limited time at his disposal, yet apt to lose his way for want of the necessary guidance.

There are three definitions which I must in the first place ask you to accept, seeing that much of what I shall have to say depends upon a clear understanding of these points. What is a Library? What is a Librarian? What is the Library Association to which we all belong? My definitions are these:

(1) A *Library* is a collection of books brought together for the use of those who wish to read them; these readers falling for the most part into the two very distinct classes of readers of books and writers of books.

(2) A *Librarian* is one who earns his living by attending to the wants of those for whose use the library under his charge exists; his primary duty being, in the widest possible sense of the phrase, to save the time of those who seek his services.

(3) The *Library Association* is an organised collection of librarians and others interested in the administration of libraries, who come together at intervals for the purpose of comparing notes and interchanging experience, with the view of effecting a general improvement in the machinery by which the work of a library is carried on.

We are, beyond a doubt, a purely professional body. So far as our profession is concerned, we are neither the producers nor the consumers of books, neither writers nor readers; we are the middlemen, to whom all who read to any purpose, and all who write, are bound sooner or later to come for help. If any one not personally concerned with the administration of a library joins our Association, we attribute the fact to the known charm which books and their belongings never fail to exercise over certain minds; we welcome him gladly, and we express a charitable hope that in the thick of professional discussion he may find something to repay him for his venture.

Of the *Library*, and of the *Librarian* I am bound to say something, although my chief anxiety is to draw your attention to certain details of library work, in which Cambridge ought to afford to many of you points of comparison which are well worth studying. I say this without any hesitation, without any fear of being thought to exaggerate the importance of what is done

here; because I am convinced that in every library, however insignificant in extent, good ideas will be started and practical suggestions worked out, which the most experienced librarian will do well to take note of, and perhaps to adopt. No library is too small to afford scope for such ideas; no librarian is so great that he can afford to neglect such suggestions.

But something has to be said about the *Library*. In what I have said already as to the two distinct classes of people who use a library, readers of books and writers of books, it will be understood that all are readers, though all are not (happily for us) writers of books.

Libraries may be said to go through several successive stages, though the higher stages are frequently never reached or even contemplated. The most elementary kind exists only for readers. It is represented by the lower class of circulating library, and by the simplest form of branch, in places where central free libraries exist. It must not be thought that I am depreciating the value of this elementary institution. It corresponds to the boys' library of our schools and (though you will perhaps be surprised to hear me say so) to the whole of our University and College libraries here, as they existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their object was exclusively practical; they were collections of books brought together simply for the use of those who wanted to read, and had not the means to buy books for themselves. Education makes people want to read, and the libraries exist to supply this want.

A higher stage is reached when the funds at the disposal of a library come to be in part devoted to the acquisition of books which form the necessary working materials of those who are engaged in writing books, but cannot afford to buy all the books which they need for their work. What is useful in this way to one person will almost certainly be useful to another, and thus it becomes worth while to incur some outlay with this object and so to make the libraries available for study as well as simply for reading what are called readable books. The character, the higher stamp, thus given to a library, soon produces results. We know that 'to every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance.' When even small re-

sources are well husbanded and made useful for a higher class of work by good management, donations flow in; and men who have spent half a life-time and half a fortune upon the formation of a library will leave or even give their books to a place where they feel confidence that good use will be made of them. This is the process by which all our great libraries have been formed. I have no reason to fear contradiction if I say that in every library of note in the kingdom down to the last fifty or sixty years the bought books formed but a very minute portion of the whole collection in comparison with those which were given or bequeathed.

Every library formed by one man and left to the more or less public library of an institution, must needs contain many books for which no immediate use can be found among the habitual frequenters of the place. It is at this point, therefore, that the antiquarian element first appears, an element which I may safely say was as heartily despised by our forefathers before the Reformation as it is despised, not to say detested, by many excellent people in the present day. Any one who has examined the inventories of early libraries before the Reformation will be familiar with the note of 'old and useless books' (*libri vetusti et inutiles*) applied to early copies of the Gospels, early volumes of Anglo-Saxon literature, and other such, which from their purely practical point of view were treated as so much rubbish, fit only for the waste-paper basket, while to us, unless animated by the spirit of a recent writer in the *Quarterly Review*, the same volumes are justly looked upon as priceless and unique remnants of a literature which would otherwise be wholly lost to us. This antiquarian element may fairly be said to have come into existence after the Reformation. We all remember the interesting paper which our excellent Treasurer gave us last year on the necessity of ridding our libraries of obsolete books, and from his point of view and that of the library which he represents, I think he was undoubtedly right. Each library must be governed according to its particular constitution, or, as I should say, the treatment which each library requires must depend upon the stage of development which it has reached. It was precisely this line which the advocates of

the Reforming movement followed in the reign of Edward the Sixth, when they made an almost clean sweep of all the monuments of the old learning which they found, or sometimes mistakenly thought they found, in our University and College libraries. We must not suppose that they hated books, that they hated learning; but they did not and could not see that any good result was likely to arise from having the shelves of their libraries filled with what they considered certainly poisonous, and (as they hoped) henceforth obsolete, books. Even with Archbishop Parker, who outlived this movement nearly thirty years, and may truly be looked upon as the first of the long line of modern book-collectors, we often find an apologetic tone, which sounds strangely in our ears, when he puts a note into a volume, explaining to posterity that it is desirable to preserve specimens of such and such books, however undesirable or useless they may be considered from the customary point of view. But I must return to my point. When the antiquarian element becomes developed in a library, a higher stage still is reached. By this I mean, what I must be allowed to consider a higher stage in the character and in the usefulness of a library. To any one engaged in historical research upon any subject it soon becomes manifest that this destruction of obsolete books which our forefathers encouraged, led to the result, which we their successors now find so extremely inconvenient, that many books which alone contain certain pieces of much desired information, have come down to us in single copies, or at best in copies preserved in some half-dozen widely scattered libraries, where for want of a printed catalogue they are for the present as good as lost. Hence arises a new demand. The library which, in the lower stages which I have noticed already, contained nothing but common books to serve the purpose of its habitual frequenters, becomes gradually more and more, as its contents are better known, an object of pilgrimage to students living at a distance sometimes, as we know, of many thousand miles, solely for the purpose of examining these books, of which the library in question is the only known repository. Thus it is that by the existence of this antiquarian element in its composition, whether of old printed books or manuscripts, the

library acquires a prestige which in its earlier stages it could never have possessed; and the appreciation of this prestige is apt to make its importance more keenly felt among those on the spot, who had never before been awakened to a sense of the treasures of which they were the guardians.

This leads me to the last stage in the development of a library of which I need take any account. The very existence of treasures which it is seen can never be replaced, leads naturally to the formation of a reserved portion of the library, where the most precious things are brought together as into a museum; and it is eventually found that they are deserving of a study of quite a different kind. They become, like specimens in any other museum, the object of more or less scientific investigation, while they are none the less available for the purely literary purpose for which they may need to be consulted. If their home be the central library of any town or district, this museum will rapidly absorb all local antiquities in the way of books and other specimens of printing, and these again will demand their own special study. But as I shall have to say something on this head in connexion with Mr Wright's paper on Local Bibliography¹, there is no need for me to enlarge upon the subject here, and I am content to pass on.

About the *Librarian* I need not say much, as you will to-morrow have the benefit of hearing from Mr Tedder his views, and I hope his experience, on librarianship as a profession. When I define a librarian as 'one who earns his living by attending to the wants of those for whose use the library under his charge exists,' you will perhaps be inclined to ask in what respect my librarian or his assistant differs from a bookseller or bookseller's assistant. The only substantial difference which I see consists in this: that the bookseller caters for the reader or writer of books, in order to make what living he can; while the librarian caters for the same people, in order to make such living as the trustees of his library assign to him. In saying this I do not consider that I either degrade the one occupation

¹ See Appendix, No. II. Note on local libraries considered as museums of local authorship and printing.

or exalt the other. Everything depends, and must depend, upon the individual man. If you have been able to follow my sketch of the various stages in the development of a library, you will easily follow my meaning here when I say that the librarian follows precisely the same stages. By the bookseller I mean not the publisher proper, whose dealings with his author must always be more or less purely commercial, but the bookseller who collects and sells books new and old, who knows the books themselves and not merely their value in the market, who caters for the real student rather than for the rich collector, the class of which old William Pickering, C. J. Stewart, and others whom I could mention are such splendid types. In the lowest grade of library, neither bookseller nor librarian will have much to raise them to any high state of culture. But for both men, when brought into contact with writers of good books or even with students who are content not to write, the very fact that they are helping these men to find the books they want, compels them, if they are in any way worth their salt, to enter into their wants and gain some acquaintance with the varied subjects which they are studying. It is this constant intercourse between the genuine student and the man who supplies his wants, which forms such a humanising training to the librarian and the bookseller alike, when it is not primarily the market value of the book which is wanted (however necessary this knowledge may be), but the intrinsic value and quality and contents of the book. The librarian under these circumstances is one whose life is wholly devoted to the service of his fellow-men, and the more it is so, the more, most assuredly, will he find himself appreciated. When I say that his primary duty is to save the time of those who frequent his library, I of course use these words in their very broadest sense. It will consist in procuring the right books, in procuring them and making them ready for use with as little delay as possible, in having them well and rationally catalogued, and easily to be found in their places. Our friends in Cambridge have had so much experience of our shortcomings in many of these points, while we see how important the minutes are, which a stranger has to waste while his wants are being supplied, that I have been forced into the adoption

of this formula as best expressing the primary duties of any one entrusted with the direction of a library. But I must leave these suggestions, and hasten to give you that slight guide to what you may expect to find here, which I promised at the beginning.

As I have assumed that the object of these meetings of the Library Association is to enable our members to visit different libraries and to compare notes and interchange experience with their fellow-librarians, I am bound to tell you (1) something of what Cambridge libraries are, and (2) to direct your attention to certain points which you will, in my opinion, find worth your consideration.

It will perhaps be a matter of surprise to some to learn that, putting aside all such more or less private institutions as the Union Society and other similar bodies which possess some of them very useful collections of books, there are twenty-nine libraries in Cambridge which deserve more or less consideration. Of these the Town claims two and the University twenty-seven.

About the Central Free Library at the Guildhall, and the Barnwell Branch Library, you will have no difficulty in gaining on the spot information better and more direct than I can give. Though of comparatively recent date, like all the Free Libraries, it has already reached what I have called both the antiquarian and the museum stage of development, and everything points to continued advance under the direction of my friend Mr Pink, who has watched over it throughout its infancy and subsequent growth. As, next to this place where we are at this moment, the Free Library may be said to form the head-quarters of the Association in Cambridge, it would be waste of your time for me to do more than give it the place of honour in my list.

In dealing with the University I must make a distinction between the University properly so called and the Colleges. I hope that a very brief sketch will serve in some measure to enable those who are unacquainted with Cambridge to form something like an accurate notion of what must be to every stranger a most complicated system. The English Universities

come to the surface of history in the early part of the thirteenth century. Just as the Chancellor in most cathedral churches had the privilege of unlimited control over all the schools of his district, so the Chancellor of the University had exclusive rights of jurisdiction over the scholars who frequented the schools of the University, and the power of protecting them in all matters concerning their lodging in the town. Before the end of the thirteenth century we find the first college established, a College being strictly speaking an endowed lodging-house for University students, which saved those who were fortunate enough to obtain house-room within its walls, from any extortion on the part of the lodginghouse-keepers in the town. Six more of these Colleges were established by the middle of the fourteenth century, six more in the course of the fifteenth, and others since, mostly on the ruins of older decayed foundations. These Colleges are places where students have always carried on their studies during their University course, each having its own chapel and hall, its own library, &c., while the University has of course independently its own schools, museums, libraries, &c., which the occupants of the Colleges use and frequent as members of the University. I will take the seven associated libraries first, and then say something of those of the several Colleges.

The greatest library of all, that long known as the PUBLIC LIBRARY of the University, though now more generally called the UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ranks as third of the most prominent libraries in the kingdom, though of all the more public collections it is, I believe, far the most ancient. The University buildings go back to the close of the fourteenth century, and we still possess books which have formed part of our library since the first quarter of the fifteenth century. We are always assumed by the world to be somewhat slow in our steps at Cambridge, and many of us can recollect the vivid language in which we were told here a few weeks ago by Mr Matthew Arnold that Oxford had always been the home of great movements, while Cambridge had to content itself with being the home of great men. It is quite possible that the characteristic

energy of the movement in Oxford against the old learning, and the comparative sluggishness of our own university, may be in part the cause of the fact that, while we still have a number of links to witness the continuity of our own library, the destruction at Oxford was so thoroughgoing that no vestige has been preserved, and Sir Thomas Bodley must be looked upon as the actual creator rather than the restorer of the library which bears his name. Drastic remedies were, we know, applied even to our own library in the reign of Edward the Sixth; but by a sort of nemesis the very man who as Proctor declared the vote of the Senate by which our library was doomed to pillage was the very man who in after years became the leading spirit in the restoration of the library to more than its previous magnificence. It is to this Dr Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse, the friend of Archbishop Parker and other leading men of Queen Elizabeth's time, that we really owe not only the complete restoration of our library but also the first permanent endowment of a librarian. I need not trouble you with details of the noble libraries of Holdsworth, Lucas, Hacket and Moore, which came to us during the sixty years succeeding the Restoration of the monarchy, nor with more than the mention of what was more fruitful than all these, the national gift of the Copyright Act during the same period, an Act which has provided us, at an infinitesimal cost, with a perpetual supply of what may truly be called the very bread of our life, the staple food of our own national literature. Details of our principal endowments you can easily find in the commonest guide-books, and I have no intention of giving you orally information which you will do better to read at leisure for yourselves.

Some of my friends, even in Cambridge, will be surprised to hear me speak of seven associated libraries in connexion with the University. But when I speculate upon the probable contents of Mr Bowker's paper on the work of the librarians of our own century in preparation for our successors of the Twentieth, I find a pleasure in drawing out lines which my successors will I hope one day fill up in a way really worthy of the University. There are several departments of University study which are at present provided with special collections, in each of which it

pleases me to see the nucleus of a special branch library for the freest possible use of those who are studying these several subjects. One of the most admirable features of the Bodleian Library, to my mind, is the way in which the private library of a specialist like Gough or Malone, has become, when bequeathed to Oxford, the germ of a still more precious collection in which the University has constituted itself the man's heir and continued his collection. So with us, I look upon the small library attached by gift to the Divinity School and now preserved there, the old library of the Modern History School and the more recent Political Economy collection of Professor Pryme, together with the equally special libraries of the Antiquarian and Philological Societies, all four now temporarily housed in the New Museums, as capable, one and all, of a wide development for the use of special students, after the model of the recently organised Philosophical Library. This last, owing to the liberality of the Philosophical Society and the untiring zeal of Mr J. W. Clark, has now been thrown open as a scientific library free to all who are engaged in those branches of study which display to the utmost the vitality of Cambridge work. Only let the others be worked on the same principle and in the same spirit, and we may yet see a group of libraries all working harmoniously, with the University Library as a centre and feeder of the rest.

I have omitted only one belonging to the University which cannot be included in the same category as those just mentioned, though it may perfectly be worked in the same spirit; I mean the Fitzwilliam Museum. Here the library of necessity falls into a subordinate position, being overshadowed by the more precious collection of pictures and engravings. Lord Fitzwilliam's is a good specimen of a nobleman's library of the beginning of the present century. Much is here of course to illustrate his own special collections, though this is far from being the exclusive character of the library; and constant additions are being made to render it useful, especially to the student of art and archæology. The more recent addition of Colonel Leake's library is an instance of that special development which I have alluded to before as such a hopeful course of action.

I have left but little space for the College libraries, and the pressure of the day's coming work urges me to be brief. I will just enumerate the seventeen Colleges, that you may form some idea of what remains to be done.

Peterhouse, our only thirteenth-century College, is one of the few which preserved its books nearly intact through the storm of the sixteenth century.

Of the fourteenth-century Colleges, Clare, Trinity, Pembroke, Gonville and Caius, Trinity Hall, and Corpus Christi, much might be said, but I cannot say it. Clare has some priceless books but is as yet little explored. For Trinity College you will have an exhaustive paper from our Vice-President, Mr Sinker, so I will not attempt to anticipate his remarks. Pembroke has lately built a new library, and has taken a fresh start; a collection which embodies the whole library of Bishop Andrewes cannot well be devoid of interest. Gonville and Caius College, as you will see under Mr Bensly's guidance, contains many most precious things, and like Peterhouse preserved itself from destruction in the sixteenth century. Trinity Hall library is a great curiosity in itself, as containing a rare example of the manner in which libraries were arranged more than three hundred years ago. I hope much that Mr Clark will be able to give you some interesting details about it when you visit it. Corpus Christi College, as you know, is famous for the library of Archbishop Parker. Mr Lewis will spare no pains to introduce you to the principal treasures of the collection, which is quite unrivalled in England.

Of the fifteenth-century colleges, Magdalene, King's, Christ's, Queens', St Catharine's, and Jesus College, all offer various attractions, though almost exclusively from an antiquarian point of view. Magdalene, the immediate successor of Buckingham College, which was founded for the Benedictines in 1428, has an interesting old library of its own, though the Pepysian of course throws the older collection into the shade. The library of Samuel Pepys is housed in a small room containing his own little carved book-cases, all the three thousand volumes to which he limited himself being kept in precisely the order in which he left them. The small size of the room renders it

impossible for many people to be there at one time ; but thanks to the kindness of the Master and of Prof. Newton, you will have as good an opportunity of seeing it and its contents as can be managed. King's College library, having a small endowment of its own, has never been allowed to fall either into decay or disuse ; its most precious portion is the library of Jacob Bryant, the well-known scholar of the latter half of the eighteenth century. For those who love to look at samples of early Italian printing in choice Harleian bindings, the Bryant collection offers a rare feast. The remaining four Colleges I have mentioned are all interesting in their way, Jesus College, especially, offering an example of an old library with its stalls, of which the original contents are indicated by the subjects in stained glass placed by the founder in the several windows.

Coming down to the colleges of the sixteenth century, St John's affords an excellent specimen of the library of its date (1624), and Prof. Mayor will gladly show you both the room and its principal treasures. It is literally full of interesting matter. As St John's occupies the ground of the old Hospital of St John the Evangelist and Jesus College that of the decayed nunnery of St Rhadegund, so Emmanuel and Sidney stand on the site of the Dominican and Franciscan Convents. Emmanuel library is very rich in old books, and bears a distinctive character of its own, from having inherited the whole of Archbishop Sancroft's printed library. Dr Pearson will kindly show you many of the treasures there under his charge. Sidney-Sussex College, besides having an old library of great value, has a special and more modern collection, the Taylor library, instituted for the use of students of mathematics and natural science, one of those special libraries which are so warmly appreciated by students at the present day. Downing, the most modern of our recognised Colleges, has also its library, but it is the only one of which I can say nothing from personal experience of its contents.

You must look upon all these as, for the most part, repositories of old and precious books, which when they come to be better known, will assuredly yield rich fruit to the enquirer. Being made up chiefly of gifts, they have all long since reached

what I have called the antiquarian stage of development, while in the greater number almost all provision for the supply of new books has been allowed to fall into abeyance. Many however are beginning to show signs of renewed life, and are being made useful for present studies.

I could have wished to draw your attention here to some details of the working of our own University Library, which I should like you to consider and take note of, especially so far as they concern the process through which books pass from the time of their arrival in the library till they are made ready for use, and their titles are entered in the catalogue. Even though they may be thought to concern only our very largest libraries, yet I should like to place them on record in the Proceedings of the Association. But I have detained you too long already, and it would be more suitable every way, if such of you as feel an interest in the subject, would come into the library while you are here, and see and judge for yourselves the practical working of the process, which you could compare at your leisure with the account of it which I have drawn up¹. If you would thus come and make yourselves acquainted with some of our working details, I should have little scruple in maintaining that the visit of the Library Association to Cambridge is quite as likely to be fruitful in the matter of professional work as it will undoubtedly be in that friendly intercourse, which nothing but such associations as ours can bring about.

¹ See Appendix, No. I. Some account of the organisation of the Cambridge University Library.

APPENDIX.

I. SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ORGANISATION OF THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

THERE are some details of the working of our University Library which I gladly take this opportunity of bringing before the Association, because they are more easily made clear on the spot than in an opening address. I am particularly anxious that you should not leave Cambridge without learning something of the organisation of our greatest library, and you will then, I hope, carry away a few hints which may be of service, when you go home and begin to digest what you have heard from others in the course of our annual gathering.

In the first place, you will be surprised to see the unusual openness of the library. Our watchword is 'Liberty and Discretion.' We say to those who use our library: 'The rule is (1) *liberty for you* to go freely about the whole library, examining what books you choose and borrowing what books you like; and (2) *discretion on our part*, exercised in putting such extremely moderate restrictions upon your freedom, that the safety of the more precious books is regarded, and the presence of the books most constantly needed for reference is secured, without undue interference with your access to the shelves or your borrowing from the library.'

So far as practicable, we keep books of a kind together, not adopting any minute system of classification, which with our building and the means at our disposal would be almost hopeless, but yet placing the books in such a way that any frequenter of the library soon finds out the compartments where the older books on his favourite subject are to be found, and also where the newest accessions of the kind are being placed. In this way he has opportunities of becoming personally acquainted with numberless books after a manner that even the most minutely

classified catalogue would fail to provide for him. It must not be thought that I am disparaging the classified form of a catalogue; my wish is here merely to point out to you the very rough method which has grown up amongst us here of satisfying an undoubted want, which has not been as yet dealt with in Cambridge by any more literary process.

The several gradations of freedom and restriction in use here, are these :

Four classes of books are kept in locked compartments and must be asked for when wanted ; and of these, in consideration of this denial of free access to the shelves, we feel bound in honour to provide printed catalogues : 1. Manuscripts; 2. Adversaria, or printed books enriched with manuscript notes of learned men; 3. Select books of various kinds, notable either for their antiquity or some other kindred point of interest; and 4. Books printed in the fifteenth century. Of the first and second classes the catalogues have already been in good part published; of the other two classes catalogues are expected, and are in preparation. I must not stop now, to give you any details of our mode of keeping, describing, and dealing with these four important classes of books.

Costly illustrated books and privately printed books are also kept under certain light restrictions, and can only be borrowed by permission. They are kept in particular cases by themselves, and they are collated before leaving the library and again on their return.

A large number of books of reference scattered through the library are labelled 'Not to be taken out,' and these cannot be borrowed for any length of time without special leave of the managing Syndicate. But, in order to make them as free as possible for general use, these books can always be borrowed by leave of the librarian, from the closing hour on one day till the opening on the next, or next working, day. By this simple rule every one has free use of them during the day, and any one who specially wants them is not deprived of them in the evening.

All other books can be borrowed with perfect freedom; and it is almost needless to point out that this is the only way

in which, in a place like this, the great mass of modern literature can possibly be made of use. People can come to a library like ours to work, but they cannot possibly come here to read what are called readable books. The Copyright Act would be little more than an expensive burden to us, if we could not make the books so collected of real service to those who wish to read them; while the very openness of the library tends to make many books known, which under other circumstances would never be seen. Once known, copies of them are bought, and author and reader are alike benefited.

Our rules for borrowing are of the most rough-and-ready description. They have remained the same, for the most part, since 1748. Each member of the Senate, that is to say, every one possessed of the full franchise of the University, is allowed to borrow ten volumes at a time. He writes on a simple printed form the briefest title or word sufficient to identify the book, with its library-mark, and adds his name and degree and the date. The book or books are shown at the door, and the door-keeper receives the ticket and files it. On whatever day the book is borrowed, it must be returned, under a small penalty, at the next of the four ordinary quarter-days, Lady Day, Midsummer, Michaelmas, and Christmas (strictly speaking, March 25, June 24, September 14, and December 21). For a fortnight in September, and for two days after the other quarter-days, the library is closed to enable the staff to make the place straight after the return of the books. While out, the borrower is responsible for the safety of the book, and it is free to go, if need be, to America and back, provided the simple rules for returning it at the next quarter-day be observed.

A printed catalogue is a luxury which our University has never possessed. It is a singular fact that the last man who left us his whole library was Bishop Hacket, in 1670; and the last great gift, so great as to give a new character to the whole place, was King George's gift of Bishop Moore's library in 1715. None of the great collectors of modern times have thought fit to deposit their treasures with us; and hence it is, perhaps, that our library has never acquired that unfailing tradition of a

learned staff which the accession of such gifts from time to time naturally develops, and of which Bodley's library affords so notable an example. For a century after the King's gift in 1715, the University was content with a manuscript catalogue of the so-called Royal library (Bishop Moore's), and an interleaved Bodleian catalogue containing our old library and all more recent accessions.

From 1815 the Copyright Act began to take effect much more fully than before, and a new vigour was exhibited in the purchase of foreign books. Hence a new catalogue was needed, and in 1819 a written catalogue was compiled, from the two then in use, by the library-keeper of the day, Mr Bowtell; and this is still the only one in use for by far the greater part of our older books.

In 1853, the University had just had the benefit of a Royal commission of enquiry, and the general stir through all parts of the body corporate, which then began and has been going on without intermission ever since, could not fail to affect the University Library. One of the first evidences of change was a re-organisation of the managing committee or Syndicate brought about in that year. Instead of an exclusively official body comprising all the leading officers of the University, the new policy inaugurated in 1853 has made it consist of sixteen members, four going off every year, and each holding his place for four years only at one time, and incapable of immediate re-election, thus plunging at once to the other extreme, in forbidding the existence of any single permanent member of the body. The fresh blood thus infused into the management of the Library soon made itself felt. A new catalogue was at once started, on the model of that of the British Museum, the titles being written with a manifold writer on slips pasted into a volume. The chief peculiarity of this new catalogue, as introduced here, was the adoption of a method of size-notation by inches (8×5 , 6×4 , &c.), of which I must take some other opportunity of saying what has to be said¹.

After some years, the ever-increasing difficulty of providing

¹ See Appendix, No. III. A word on size-notation as distinguished from form-notation.

for insertions led to the plan now adopted here, of using not bound paper books, but quires (at first of paper and more recently of linen) strung into a cover, so as to allow their easy removal from one volume to another. This is a method which you must see for yourselves to understand. It affords certain facilities for intercalation, and it has been adopted in several libraries from ours; but, after all said and done, it must be allowed that the problem has yet to be solved, how to provide for the intercalation of fresh accessions of titles in a catalogue in book form, with the least unnecessary waste of time occupied in transference of titles from one page to another.

In October 1861, Mr Hobson, of St John's College, then Principal Library Assistant, a man of an eminently practical turn of mind, introduced in a modified form the American method of printing the titles of all accessions; a plan which has been followed with great satisfaction from that time onwards. By this system the titles were printed on the two inner pages of an open sheet of demy folio size (the size of the library catalogue volumes), with two columns on a page, the whole sheet containing sixty titles or thereabouts, needing only to be cut up and pasted into the volume of the catalogue. The printed titles were therefore just half the width of the written slips, and the gain to the eye and the economy of room were allowed on all hands to be very great. The method of size-notation by inches (8×5 , 6×4 , &c.), in use from 1854 to 1861, was given up, and the more common-place form-notation of Fol. 4to. 8vo. &c., with all its uncertainties and inaccuracies, came back again. The library-marks (press-marks) were printed, as on the written titles, at the left-hand end, with upright lines separating the compartment, shelf, and volume numbers¹. It was obviously

¹ The British Museum authorities, in printing their accession-titles, have been fully alive to the waste which would be caused by retaining the press-mark in the old place at the left-hand end. They have consequently placed it above, immediately over the leading word of the heading, so that the consecutive number of the title-slip oc-

cupies the corresponding position at the end of the same line, instead of being in the centre, as with us at present. If the same method were adopted in our case, we should again save a whole column in every page, as we did at first by the introduction of printing. Our catalogue, by having three columns in a page, would be

necessary to adopt some very simple and unobtrusive method of marking each slip, in order that another copy might readily be found when wanted. For this purpose Mr Hobson placed above the centre of the title the last two figures of the year, followed after a point by the consecutive number of the title thus: 61. 1, 61. 2, 61. 285, 61. 286, &c. Unless printed in the most unobtrusive form, this number was sure to be taken by some readers for the class-mark (or press-mark as it is called elsewhere); and even now this is sometimes found to be the case.

This mode of printing the titles went on without alteration of any kind for about ten years, being confined for the most part to the titles of new accessions, except to some extent during the three years of Prof. Mayor's tenure of office as librarian (1864—1867), when an enormous increase of life and vigour, inspired by his energy, found its way into every branch of the work of the library.

During the fifteen years of my own tenure of office as librarian, I have made it one main object to devise some orderly method by which our books should go through their several stages of preparation for use; and to see how our system of printing the titles could best be made to help materially towards this end. The details of this process I am particularly anxious to put briefly before you, and I am sanguine enough to hope that more than one among you may find here a few hints which will be worth consideration. What I have to say on this point will interest chiefly those librarians who print their titles; but an exposition of the method employed here may possibly be of interest to a larger circle.

Books which have by our present practice to be catalogued in print, fall necessarily into one or other of the following four classes:

(A) Books already in the library, entered in the old written catalogue, and having now to be re-catalogued in print;

correspondingly reduced in bulk, and thereby become more convenient to consult, as presenting a larger number of titles to the eye at the same time.

(B) Books bought from various booksellers, being mostly new foreign publications ;

(C) Books claimed under the Copyright Act and received from our agent in London ; and

(D) Donations and other miscellaneous accessions from various quarters.

Leaving class A for the present, it will appear that all these books go through certain well-defined stages before they reach their final place on the shelves and become ready for circulation. I will speak first of the new accessions comprised under the above headings B, C, and D, tracing their course severally through the four successive stages of

I. The Work-room,

II. The Labelling-room,

III. The Revising-room, and

IV. The Exhibition, to which they are all subjected immediately before being put into circulation.

I. THE WORK-ROOM.

(B) Books bought from various booksellers, being mostly new foreign publications, are received by one of the assistants and identified with the entry on the invoice sent with them. They are of three kinds :

(1) Complete books,

(2) Books in progress, whether issued in complete volumes or in parts, and

(3) Periodical publications.

(1) The complete books are stamped, and then catalogued on single slips. If in a substantial binding, they are ready for placing at once ; if in paper covers, as in the case of most foreign books, they are sent to the binder, and when received back they are ready for placing. Until a place is found for them on the shelves, they remain in the work-room of the assistant under whose charge they are, the title-slips remaining in a box, where he can readily refer to them and give information whether any book, not yet in circulation, has been received.

(2) Books in progress are stamped, and then registered on slips kept in a separate box, the date of the receipt of each part or volume being noted on the slip, which is removed from the box only when the book is fully complete. If not at once ready for binding, the parts are kept in a store-room. If ready, the books are bound, and when bound they are ready for placing.

(3) Periodical publications are stamped, and then entered in a Periodical register, where the receipt of each number is entered with the date. The unbound parts are kept in a store-room until ready for binding, and when bound they are ready for placing, as before.

(C) Books claimed under the Copyright Act are of course much more numerous and varied than any other class, and require more subdivision. They are received from our London agent by one of the assistants and identified with the entries on the invoice sent with them. After identification they are first sifted into two classes:

(a) Those intended for the General Library, and

(b) Those intended for what, for want of a better name, I must call the Lower Library, a term which I use to denote the books which it is necessary to preserve, though they are not in demand in at all the same way as the others. It must be understood that the sifting process is not guided by any spirit of censorship, but by practical experience of the wants of the place. If a book has been wrongly sifted out, it will be seen hereafter that it can at once and without any difficulty be transferred to the General Library.

(a) Those intended for the General Library are given into the charge of several different assistants. They fall into these six classes:

(1) Complete books ;

(2) Books in progress, whether issued in complete volumes or in parts ;

(3) Periodical publications ;

(4) Pamphlets ;

(5) Music ; and

(6) Maps.

(1) Complete English books are almost always bound, and so ready at once for placing, as soon as they have been stamped, and title-slips written for them.

(2) Books in progress are stamped and registered, as in the case of the corresponding class of bought books.

(3) Periodical publications are stamped and registered, just as in the case of bought books.

(4) Pamphlets are stamped and have titles written for them, and are then kept in a store-room, where they can be found when wanted. In order to prevent indefinite accumulation, the following method is in use. As soon as possible after the close of each year, all the pamphlets received under the Copyright Act during the preceding year are brought out of the store-room, and sorted by one of the under-librarians into volumes according to subject, some if necessary being bound separately; the object being that every single publication of the kind should be cleared out of the store-room year by year, the pamphlets themselves being looked upon somewhat as magazine articles not fortunate enough to find a home in some such recognised repository. Thus the pamphlets of any one year come to form a series intelligible in itself. When the volumes are bound, they are ready for placing in the usual manner, each in the class to which it naturally belongs. The library suffered so much for many years from the haphazard accumulation of pamphlets waiting for some congenial fellows, and consequently lost to practical use, that this plan was adopted in 1872 and has been found to answer extremely well.

(5) Music is stamped and catalogued on slips in the same way as other things. That which can be bound is made ready for placing, and the rest is kept in the store-room, the titles being readily to be found in the slip-boxes.

(6) Maps are kept in a special map-room under the care of one of the assistants, by whom they are stamped and catalogued, and then sorted into cases.

(b) Books, &c. intended for the Lower Library are given

into the charge of one of the assistants. They fall into these three classes :

- (1) Complete works ;
- (2) Works in progress ; and
- (3) Periodical publications.

(1) Complete works are stamped and catalogued on slips in the usual way.

(2, 3) Works in progress and periodical publications are stamped and registered in the usual way, and stored until the completion of a volume, which is then tied up neatly, or bound, as the case may seem to require.

(D) Donations and other miscellaneous accessions follow the same course as the other kinds of books. They are identified, registered, acknowledged, stamped, and catalogued on slips, remaining in the work-room until ready to be placed on the shelves.

So far I have described the preliminary part of the work-room stage in the history of the new accessions, until, being in some substantial form of binding, the books are ready for placing on the shelves for the purpose of being prepared for circulation. Through the rest of this, and through the three succeeding stages, all the different classes follow the same treatment, so far as they belong to the General Library, while the Lower Library requires a slightly different treatment of its own, which will be noticed further on.

In all the above classes (B, C, D) we have now reached the point at which the books are in their several work-rooms, and are ready to be placed. The next process is as follows. The assistant, having sorted the books out in groups, takes each group round to the different compartments, and finds shelves where they may occupy a suitable place, taking a note of each. On returning to his work-room he enters the title briefly (little more than a single line is generally sufficient) in the shelf-catalogue¹ (or class-catalogue as we call it in Cambridge). He then

¹ Every class (or compartment) in the whole library has its own shelf catalogue of this kind; and I cannot

too strongly insist upon the fact that this shelf-catalogue is really the catalogue or inventory of the library *par*

writes the library-mark (compartment, shelf, and volume number) on the title-page of the book and on the title-slip which he made on first receiving the book; writing in addition any further slips of cross-reference or directions for secondary entry¹

excellence, to which the General Alphabetical Catalogue forms the best Index which we are capable of making. It is by this shelf-catalogue that we inspect the library periodically and note our accessions and our losses. It is this which we put into any one's hands, who is anxious to learn rapidly what books we have on a particular subject, so far as we have been able to keep such books together. From time immemorial we have had a readable catalogue of this kind, and any attempt, such as has been sometimes suggested, to alter or destroy its character, would be distinctly a disaster to the place. As the shelf-catalogue is a local inventory, so an alphabetical catalogue is in reality an alphabetical *index* to a library; and the moment that we can grasp the fact that this is so, and that this latter should follow the laws of a first-rate *index*, the requirements of such a work stand out clearly, and certain cataloguing theories at once fall to the ground as out of place. Many sets of cataloguing rules seem to aim at giving some theoretically accurate form of entry, while the primary aim of a good index is universally allowed to be, to consider the reader and help him to find whatever he wants with the least possible delay. Some alphabetical catalogues, as some indexes, will give greater variety of help than others; but the index-principle remains the same.

¹ A few words are necessary in explanation of these terms, as they are employed in our library.

By a cross-reference I mean a reference made from one entry to an-

other, in order to avoid needless repetition. Its most reasonable and legitimate use with us is confined to references from one form of a name or title to another, or from an editor, whose editions of a work are numerous, to the author whose work he brings out. Thus: 'Disraeli (Benjamin). *See* Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of).' This means that all books bearing the author's name Disraeli on the title-page, must be looked for under the title of Beaconsfield. Again, the phrase 'Coke upon Littleton' means 'Sir Thomas Littleton's *Tenures* with the commentary of Sir Edward Coke.' The main entry will be under 'Littleton (Sir Thomas)'; and, instead of giving as many cross-references under 'Coke (Sir Edward)' as there are editions of the work, we should give a general cross-reference thus: 'Coke (Sir Edward). *See* Littleton (Sir Thomas). *Tenures*. With the commentary of Sir Edward Coke,' reserving the enumeration of the editions for the main entry.

By a secondary entry I mean something quite different from a cross-reference. We have for some years past adopted from the Boston Public Library an admirable method of secondary entry, which their card system enables them to use very largely. Unfortunately, the small size of our printed slip-titles renders it more difficult of general application with us; but considerations of economy and convenience must soon lead to its adoption on a much wider scale. The method is simply this: Whenever a book is considered likely to be

which our cataloguing rules and his own judgment may require. The slip or slips are then laid in the volume, and the volume itself is ready for labelling. Whatever volumes are so prepared by each of the assistants during any week up to midday on Friday, are sent down, as soon as done, from the several work-rooms to the labelling-room, and they then enter upon the second stage of the procedure, which I am trying to describe.

II. THE LABELLING-ROOM.

It is clear that the number of volumes prepared and placed during any one week is liable to vary from nothing up to a very considerable number, according to the time which the several assistants, whose duty it is to catalogue and place the books, have been able to devote to this work during the week. But, whatever the number may be, the volumes are labelled without delay, and the rule is absolute, that on the following Monday morning the labelling-room has to be completely and entirely cleared out, and the books themselves, with a tally of the number of volumes labelled and their class (B, C, or D, as above), are immediately taken to the revising-room, and the third stage is then entered upon.

III. THE REVISING-ROOM.

It is now clear that whatever is catalogued and placed during any week (up to Friday at noon) is labelled and goes to the revising-room on the following Monday morning. Here the three several classes of books (bought, copyright, and donations, &c.), with their written slips lying in them, are separately arranged on shelves, each class in its own library order (A, B, C ..., Aa, Bb, Cc..., I, II, III..., 1, 2, 3..., LA, LB, LC..., MA, MB, MC..., &c.), ready for revision. During this week,

looked for under any heading or headings other than the principal one provided by our rules for cataloguing, we take one or more additional copies of the printed title-slip, and write neatly along the top such secondary headings as seem to be needed, and the slips are then entered in the catalogue under

these headings. The expense of printing a mass of additional entries is thus saved altogether, by a process which enables us ungrudgingly to consult the convenience of the reader, for whose use and benefit (it must always be remembered) the catalogue primarily exists.

from Monday to Saturday, the under-librarians are required to make the final revision of these titles for the press, one taking one series (bought or foreign books), the other another (as copyright or English, and donations or miscellaneous). As soon as these titles are revised, the whole of each series being still kept in due library order, with the cross-references following the main entries, each series of slip-titles is marked with consecutive numbers, following on from the last number of the corresponding series revised in the preceding week, the numbers beginning afresh with each year. These titles are then sent to the press, and the books themselves remain for the present undisturbed on the shelves of the revising-room.

As often as may be, a sheet containing about 60 titles comes back in proof from the press, being an instalment of the stock of titles which have been sent week by week to the press. This sheet is read (by the under-librarian to whose series it belongs) and revised, re-read and returned for press; and after a day or two twelve copies are returned printed off for use, and bearing at the foot the date of printing, and the first and last numbers of the titles contained on the sheet. With this we reach the fourth stage in the progress of the books.

IV. THE EXHIBITION.

The number of sheets finally returned from the press during any one week will evidently vary indefinitely from nothing up to whatever the press has been enabled to print off. On the following Monday morning, whatever sheets have been so returned during the preceding week are given out to the paster to cut up and insert in the general alphabetical catalogue of the library; and the books in the revising-room, whose titles are contained on those sheets, are removed to a particular table, where they remain on exhibition until the following Friday at noon. By this time the titles have all been inserted in their places in the catalogue, and the printing numbers have been entered on the back of the title-page of each book. As soon as the clock strikes twelve on Friday, the exhibited books are removed from the table, and are taken at once to their respective places in the library, each member of the staff carrying off those

books which belong to the particular room, of the contents of which the librarian has given him the special charge¹. When once the books have reached their places, but not until then, they are considered to be in circulation, and they may be borrowed from the library in the usual way.

It will I think be allowed that, with the most ordinary care, the whole process, including the four stages here described, may be said almost to work itself, so organically regular and straightforward is its action. If a book is hard to catalogue or place, it does not go down to the labelling-room so soon as it might otherwise do; and if a sheet is delayed at the press, it does but come back a week later than it might have done. But it will obviously be the interest of the printers not to delay needlessly over their sheets, and it will be equally the desire of the cataloguer to keep down the number of uncatalogued or unplaced books under his charge, by placing them and sending them on to the labelling-room as fast as he can, consistently always with the due care required for cataloguing them; and meantime any unavoidable delay of this kind is not such as can possibly cause any dislocation of the machinery here described.

The printed sheets of titles are by this time available as weekly bulletins of the accessions to the library so far as put into circulation, and might be regularly issued to the public as such, each sheet bearing at the foot its own date, which is of necessity that of the week immediately preceding the one on which the books are placed upon the shelves for use. Though this plan has never yet been adopted with us, it seems evident that no time could possibly be half so suitable for the issue of any such bulletin as the very week in which the books contained in it are actually exhibited and put into circulation. It has indeed been suggested that the date of accession would form a better point to take for the issue of such a bulletin than the date of

¹ Not a day passes without the return of books, and these are restored to their places on the following morning. It is found to be of considerable practical utility to give the rooms in charge each to one member of the

staff, who thus feels more especially responsible for the orderly condition of his particular room; and in case of questions arising he is thereby better able to give information respecting its contents.

circulation. But a moment's consideration will show that this cannot really be so. In the early part of the work-room stage of a book there are liable to be various elements of uncertainty. Will it certainly be kept? How will it finally be catalogued? When will it actually be ready for use? And how is the reader to be informed on all these points about it? On the other hand, the issue of the bulletin at the time of circulation would assure the reader of three very important facts: that the book was certainly in the library; that he had before him the precise form in which the book was finally catalogued; and that it was actually on the shelves ready for him to apply for it and use it.

As in this library we exhibit our books freely and publicly, the bulletin I have suggested is perhaps less urgently required; but in larger and less open libraries, such as the British Museum, where any such exhibition would of course be wholly impracticable, the gain would surely be enormous, if, by some such simple mechanism as I have sketched out, the weekly accessions, so far as made ready for use, could be put before the world in the form of a 'British Museum Gazette.' The publication of such a gazette would entail no undue pressure to hasten on certain branches of the work. Seeing that the books can only be looked upon as fully ready for circulation, when their titles are finally printed off, the weekly gazette would merely have to record what was actually brought to completion in any one week. Any attempt to put it into alphabetical order would dislocate the system, besides having no permanent value; and the week's issue would never really be so long but that most readers would be glad to look through the whole. Further than this, the very order of the titles, the main entries being immediately followed by the cross-references, would help more effectually than any other system that could well be devised, to familiarise the ordinary reader with the practical working of the rules adopted for cataloguing.

I must say a word at this point about the method in use here of numbering the title-slips for library purposes. I have said before that in 1861 Mr Hobson devised the plan of distinguishing each slip by an unobtrusive number, consisting of the last two figures of the year, followed by a point and a conse-

cutive number (82. 1, 82. 2, 82. 3, and so on), thus, by beginning a fresh series with each year, avoiding the difficulty of an interminable series of numbers while affording a convenient piece of information at the same time¹. So long as the printed titles were almost wholly confined to new accessions, and the task of final revision for the press was not more than the librarian himself could manage, week by week, there was no need to modify this method of numeration. About ten years ago, however, it became desirable to divide the work of revision; and, this being so, it would have been very inconvenient to mix the two revisers' work, making the one wait for the other. Accordingly, unobtrusiveness being the necessary law of the case, it was a matter of no difficulty to make three different series, one for bought (mostly foreign) books, one for copyright English books, and one for donations and miscellaneous books, which form the three classes (B, C, D) of new accessions described above. A very slight variety of punctuation was sufficient to effect the desired object, and the single point (82. 1, 82. 2, &c.) was reserved for copyright English books, a double point or colon (82: 1, 82: 2, &c.) for bought foreign books, and a triple point (82...1, 82...2, &c.) for the third class of donations and miscellaneous accessions. As with the printers a full-point, a double point or colon, and a triple point, are each of them single types, the matter was still more simplified. Further, each series thus represented to some extent different revisers, and in every case three different cataloguers².

¹ This device has been overlooked at the British Museum, in the recently started printed series, where the numbers have already reached five figures; and I would suggest to the authorities there the adoption of some simpler method like our own.

² Here again I may suggest an improvement in the British Museum practice. For our single, double and triple point they use a letter to distinguish the several series, A (new English), B (new foreign), C (second-hand English), D (second-hand foreign),

which will, I fear, when coupled with its consecutive number (C. 25897, &c.) be found to present the semblance of a press-mark to some half-enlightened reader even more readily than our own numbers do, which, as I have said above, are sometimes mis-read in this sense. I do not hesitate to throw out these suggestions, because it is such a patent fact that no library is so small, but that useful methods may there be tried and developed, which a much greater library may occasionally follow and adopt with advantage.

One more step has to be noticed, and I have done with this subject. It was in 1871 that the work of re-cataloguing the old library was taken up in earnest. Hence it became necessary to employ two different people as final revisers for the press, and it was of course desirable to distinguish this re-catalogued work from the series of new accessions, and, while making the mark clear to any one in the library who had need to trace the history of a title, yet to retain the strictest unobtrusiveness in the notation used. This was readily effected by making, in all re-cataloguing work, the year-notation follow the consecutive number instead of preceding it (1. 82, 2. 82, &c., 1 : 82, 2 : 82, &c.), and by distinguishing the work of the two revisers by the use of the same variety of points as in the case of the new accessions. The history of a slip is thus traceable without delay, and an instant's thought serves to show who catalogued and who revised for press any particular title. For purposes of reference, a file of the sheets is kept and bound year by year, the new series being comprised in one volume, with a red label, and the re-catalogued series in another, with a black label.

This brings me to mention the several stages through which our re-catalogued books pass, which I omitted to describe above under class A.

After much thought and discussion and many experiments, we have long since come to the conclusion that the wisest way for us, in re-cataloguing, is to do the work class by class, shelf by shelf. Had we a recently made or fairly revised catalogue which could act as an immediate basis for the work, it would be different. At the British Museum, where the existing written catalogues are not only recently made but revised with such extreme care, it needs but to put a written volume into the printer's hands and the work is done. This with us would be an impossibility, as the title of every single book would require the most careful revision. As it is, we are able to reap no small advantage from our own method. Working class by class, we at any rate know that certain compartments are done, are finished off to the best of our power. We can measure fairly well both what we have done and what remains to be done. Further than this, by adopting the same method of procedure

here as in the case of new books we find another advantage. One of the assistants prepares the copy for the press on slips, and one of the under-librarians revises his work for the press. Whatever the assistant is able to prepare in any one week, is ready on the following Monday morning for the under-librarian to revise in the course of that week. When revised, the slips are numbered and sent to press before the end of the week. Each sheet that comes in proof, with its instalment of sixty titles or so from the stock of copy sent week by week, is read and revised, re-read and returned for press, and eventually the clean copies come back. Following the same method as that in use with the new books, as described above, one copy of whatever sheets come back finally from the press during any week is on the following Monday morning given out to the paster to be cut up and inserted in the new general catalogue; while another copy is taken by the assistant, and in accordance with it, during the week, the obsolete entries in the old written catalogue are drawn through with a pen, and the printing numbers are entered on the back of the title-page of the books. It is evident too that these sheets are available as weekly bulletins of re-catalogued work, and, from the fact of their containing titles of books standing next one another, and therefore kindred in subject, a series of sheets will contain a rough subject catalogue which may be found of material use and advantage to special students.

To complete my sketch of this branch of our library work, I have only to mention the stages adopted in dealing with what I have called the Lower Library. I have already traced the progress of these books from the time of the assistant's receiving them till they are ready to be placed. For many years they were kept in a sort of lumber room, without any semblance of order. One of the many benefits which the library owes to Professor Mayor was the resolution no longer to let this matter accumulate, as it would clearly be soon beyond control. Whatever happened, these books must be catalogued, however simply, must be capable of being found at once, in case it should be desirable to transfer any such book to the General Library. This

was in 1864, soon after Prof. Mayor came into office as librarian. As we had for many years used the size-notation by inches, and as all in the library were familiar with the terms fives, sixes, sevens, eights, nines, &c. for books of five, six, seven, eight, nine, inches high, and as since 1859 I had always been forced from want of room, to use the same notation for the Oriental manuscripts, I suggested the simple method of arranging all these books, as soon as received, merely by size, so as to keep them both safe and tidy. This arrangement, combined with a notation like that of Mr Hobson for the titles in the General Catalogue, would give a perfectly intelligible library mark. In this way, 64. 6. 180 would mean that 'of the books received in 1864, measuring 6 inches high, this was No. 180.' The third or volume number was the only one necessary to be distinguished by a label outside, and the plan once adopted has been carried on with success ever since. There are shelf-catalogues of all these books, and the written title-slips are kept in drawers, forming a sort of card-catalogue in alphabetical order, by means of which any such book received since 1864 can be found without delay. The sets of periodical publications of this kind are not so fortunate. The volumes being either bound or neatly tied up, are at least clean; but they await better times, when we can afford them proper shelf-room, and a somewhat fairer treatment. The main satisfaction is, that a rational system is at work, which will act with more visible advantage, the more we extend our borders; a method, which will enable us to deal with the arrears before 1864 with equal success, as opportunity offers from time to time for coping with a task of which none, but those who have seriously tried it, can possibly estimate the difficulty.

This is the outline, these are the principal features, of the organisation of our library work. The only merit of it, in my own mind, lies in the fact that it consists, not of fanciful theory, but of formulated experience. The methods already in use were first carefully observed and studied, then from time to time amended in accordance with inside and outside experience, and finally formulated for general use. Let each man do his best with the materials under his hands; let him study their circum-

stances, their characteristics, and master their requirements. The Library Association will then afford him the means of comparing notes with his fellow-librarians, and of sifting and testing his results; and he cannot fail to be a benefactor to the place and to the people for whom he lives.

II. NOTE ON LOCAL LIBRARIES CONSIDERED AS MUSEUMS OF LOCAL AUTHORSHIP AND PRINTING.

That part of the programme of our meeting, which dealt with local bibliography, was eventually crowded out by the pressure of other matters, and Mr W. H. K. Wright's extremely interesting paper had to be taken as read.

It was my wish to draw attention to the opening afforded to central local libraries, to have a small department serving as a museum of local authorship and printing. By using the term 'museum,' I mean to imply that these local collections should not be thrown together in confusion, but that, so far as possible, a true systematic study should be applied to their investigation. No librarian can be the worse for a little spice of training in the scientific method of pursuing any branch of research; and, if he trains himself in the field I have mentioned, his work cannot fail to find many to whom it is acceptable. Of course he must not neglect the ordinary duties of his office; but in making himself acquainted with the books produced in his own district, either by local authors or at local presses, he is doing a work which no one else can possibly be in a position to do with equal facility. I am not asking him to take up the study of early Italian printing or early German literature, of anything remote from his daily life and work. I want him to render himself master of the things that belong to the place in which he finds himself; to know well the things that he himself and those, to whose service he devotes himself, will alike be glad and proud that he should know.

At Plymouth, for instance, there will be abundance of material, which one who is on the spot will have means of

bringing together; and the very sifting and arrangement of this material, when its results are circulated, will provide a contribution of value to the general history of the country. There is nothing of the evil of a special hobby in this work, if carried on with ordinary discretion.

Again, to a Birmingham librarian, Warwickshire books and Shakespeariana will be a legitimate and natural object for his more special work. Or he may take Birmingham itself. I happen to have in my own possession some 1350 slips and small sheets of street songs, all printed at Birmingham, by more than twenty different printers, and hawked about the streets there during the first half of the present century. They are neatly mounted in a volume and arranged according to the presses at which they were severally printed. Other collectors, no doubt, possess a still greater number of more substantial volumes printed at various Birmingham presses, or of the productions of local and half-forgotten authors. All these things, if rationally studied on the spot, in more or less detail, as time can well be spared for the work, must assuredly yield results which will throw light on the history of the place, and help us to understand the present through the past. A catalogue made in this spirit, one such as the Birmingham catalogue of Shakespeariana, will have a substantive value of its own, long after the books themselves have been destroyed.

If, as we are told, the library is destined to be the university of the future, there ought surely to be room on the staff of the library for some 'professor' of local antiquities of this kind, for some one whose very work will train him to be a centre of information upon all subjects bearing immediately upon the state and history of his own town or district.

The subject, however, is sure to come before the Library Association again; and the present brief note is hardly a fitting opportunity for setting out, as I should like to see done, the scientific method which needs to be employed, in dealing with these local productions as specimens in a museum, and in studying them from a museum point of view.

III. A WORD ON SIZE-NOTATION AS DISTINGUISHED FROM FORM-NOTATION.

The careful Report presented by the Size-notation Committee to the Cambridge meeting of the Library Association was discussed to some extent, but it was unreasonable to expect any immediate agreement upon such a question, and the matter was reserved for future consideration.

The truth is, that the case has evidently not been fully stated. One thing is patent and acknowledged: that all are anxious to represent a fact, whatever be the notation they propose; while opinions are divided as to the best mode of representing this fact. Two other points, however, appear to me not to be so clearly or universally apprehended:

(1) That the terms Folio, Quarto, Octavo, &c., represent strictly not size-notation but form-notation; and

(2) That the modern methods of making paper and of printing books combine to render any accurate application of form-notation to such books not so much difficult as impossible.

The logical conclusion from these two facts is, of course, that the form-notation expressed by the terms Folio, Quarto, Octavo, &c., should be given up in the case of modern books to which it is wholly inapplicable; and that a size-notation, which does represent an undoubted fact, should be adopted in its place. This logical conclusion was seen, accepted, and acted upon, at Cambridge in the year 1854; and I confess that it is difficult to resist the conviction that this principle must sooner or later be accepted by others, though there will no doubt be differences of opinion as to the most advisable form of notation to adopt. A librarian cannot afford to be eccentric in this matter; whatever method is adopted, it must be adopted by all the great libraries, and it must commend itself to the general reader. Now I feel sure that I shall not be taxed with dogmatism or with any predilection for some crotchet of my own devising, if I say that the complicated and artificial systems,

recommended by the Committee and others, are such as cannot possibly become familiar, even if they become intelligible, to the general run of readers.

In the old Cambridge size-notation of 'London, 1856, 8×5,' meaning 8 inches high by 5 inches across, the second number, denoting the breadth, very soon fell out of use, except in writing; and for years we always spoke of books as eights, sevens, sixes, &c., meaning that they were eight, seven, or six, inches high¹. This does but point to the undoubted fact that, unless the book is actually oblong (that is, broader than it is high), its breadth is a matter of only secondary importance. We want, above all things, a notation which shall bring the book to our mind's eye, and, by showing us its height, at once place it, to our imagination, side by side with books which we already see upon our shelves.

No vote of the Library Association, indeed no amount of external authority, will compel, or even enable, an ordinary person to keep in his head the number of inches, or fractions of an inch, which distinguish (for instance) the term 'sm. 8vo.' and 'la. 8vo.' If these expressions, couched some of them in unfamiliar phraseology, are proposed, as they are avowedly proposed, with the sole object of their serving as equivalents for certain definite measurements by inches or *millimètres*, let us rather, in the name of common sense, resort to the inches or *millimètres* themselves, which are facts of everyday life, such as can be understood by the most ordinary reader. If we wish to distinguish between an Englishman's inches and a Frenchman's *millimètres*, let each use simple letters or an index-letter to notify the fact. Take the Englishman's 'London, 1882, 8in.'

¹ The practice in use with us has been to measure the height of the book from the top to the bottom of the page, disregarding the covers. We compute inches as we compute a man's age; a book is 8 in. until it is 9 in.; only, seeing that bound books are so often cut not quite square, anything short of the number used in the size-notation, by an eighth of an inch or less, we call

by that number for ordinary purposes. I have said above (p. 389), that in our General Library Catalogue, we have reverted to the common form-notation, 8vo. 12mo. &c.; but pure size-notation is still retained in other departments, while in Trinity College library it has never been given up since it was first adopted in 1856 or thereabouts.

or the Frenchman's 'Paris, 1882, 215^m.' These could not fail to be intelligible, and would very soon become familiar enough. Each nation would use its own size-notation for books, precisely as it does for every other commodity; and our neighbours would find no greater difficulty in converting our inches into *millimètres*, than we experience every day in reversing the process, when we examine any ordinary catalogue of engravings.

Further, if ever, as in a detailed description, more minute accuracy of size-notation were desired, it would be equally easy and intelligible to add the fraction ('London, 1882, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. '); and, if the breadth were considered of importance, we could in each case express the fact in the usual way ('London, 1882, 8 \times 5 in.' or 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.), and thus the utmost demands of bibliographical accuracy could be met without the slightest departure from the simple principle of making the size-notation represent a fact, with more or less minute exactness according to the taste of the owner of the books. For an ordinary alphabetical catalogue, however, which is always rather a finding index than a minutely descriptive catalogue, it would probably be found sufficient to denote only the height of the volume.

If then we could arrive at an agreement upon the question of size-notation by the adoption of a plan which secures, what is of all things most wanted under the circumstances, EASY ACCURACY, we could proceed without difficulty to fix upon some form-notation, which would satisfy the conscience, while gratifying the conservatism, of all real lovers of old books.

To denote books in quarto (for instance), a term which means that a page or leaf of the book is, in size, one-fourth part of the whole sheet of hand-made paper on which the book is printed, the French use the formula 'in-4.', the Germans use '4.', while the English use indifferently '4to.' or '4°.' The single index-letter °, representing the termination of the word, whatever it may be, seems to my mind the simplest formula to employ, as it is also the least likely one to mislead the reader. Every possible form of folded sheet (the French *format*), F°, 4°, 8°, 12°, 18°, 16°, 24°, 32°, &c., could thus be represented by a perfectly uniform expression, which we never, even at present, find any difficulty in interpreting.

Only let this form-notation immediately precede the real size-notation in the case of all old books to which it is applicable ('London, 1662, F^o. 12 in.' or 'Cantabrigiæ, 1638, 4^o. 7 in.'), and we have all the elements of certainty which can well be desired. It appears indeed to me that it would be difficult to combine the two necessary elements of simplicity and accuracy under any more easily intelligible or more thoroughly commonplace formula.

It may perhaps have been thought superfluous for me to define the meaning of the term 'quarto,' a definition which *mutatis mutandis* applies to all such terms. But the truth is that, although Frenchmen seem to be generally taught these things as elementary facts, I am bound to say that I have not found, during the last twenty years, five Englishmen, either librarians or booksellers, who knew how to distinguish a folio from a quarto, or an octavo from a 12^o or a 16^o. It is surely high time then, that we should make a serious effort to arrive at some common understanding as to a matter of such purely practical concern; seeing that we are all agreed that it is desirable to convey some idea of the size of a book by the notation we use to describe it.

XXIII. THE EARLY COLLECTION OF CANONS COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE HIBERNENSIS: A LETTER ADDRESSED TO DR F. W. H. WASSERSCHLEBEN, PRIVY COUNCILLOR, PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GIESSEN¹.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

May 28, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR,

As I find it is impracticable for me at present to put before you, as fully as I could wish, the results of several years' work upon the origin and earliest history of the collection of canons known commonly as the *Hibernensis*, I feel bound, after the communications which have recently passed between us, to send you a series of twelve propositions into which I have compressed some of the principal conclusions which I have been led to adopt chiefly from a study of the manuscripts in which the work has been preserved. You on your part cannot keep the press waiting, and I am absolutely without leisure during this portion of the year, so I must ask you to take what I am able to put together in the course of a few hours. In the propositions which I now submit to you, your own researches are only so far touched upon as they appear in your edition of 1874 and in your previous work on the *Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851, 8vo.). If I have leisure during the next few months to present my work to you more in detail, I shall have had the further advantage of studying the results of your fresh researches in the new edition of the *Hibernensis*, which I hope to see before many weeks are over.

¹ Published as Memorandum No. 8, June, 1885.

You must always bear in mind that my investigations started from a wholly different point from your own. The *Hibernensis*, which first came to my notice when Haddan and Stubbs were preparing their edition of the Councils, came afterwards to be a subject of more special study when I was engaged in searching for any volumes which might with certainty be looked upon as written (that is, transcribed) within the limits of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany before the close of the eleventh century (A.D. 1100). Whatever I then found in the nature of contributions to the vernacular dialects, either new glosses or corrections of old ones, or scraps of verse, &c. I sent to Mr Whitley Stokes, who printed them from time to time with a commentary of his own; and they have since been published in a more accessible and convenient form by M. J. Loth, being included in his *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton avec commentaire* (Paris, 1884, 8vo.). My own primary object was to see and to learn what books these early people read and used and transcribed for their own use, and to observe what peculiarities they displayed in handwriting and other details connected with the production of books. In this way I hoped incidentally to provide a safer foundation, than then existed, on which the philologist might carry on his speculations, by seeing that the glosses to be expounded were more accurately read and that they were at any rate assigned to their right Latin words, thus saving much fruitless speculation. I soon found that the Latin books themselves, which contained the glosses, were of no interest to the Celtic philologist; whereas, for my purpose, even where the books contained specimens of classical literature, they never failed to present features of interest peculiar to themselves, while in cases where they had the appearance of being native productions, their interest in my eyes was naturally increased a hundred-fold.

I feel that a few words are necessary, on my part, to explain the persistence with which I have been led to bring the claims of Brittany into notice. My conclusions in this direction were wholly unforeseen by myself, and were only forced upon me from my constant work among the manuscripts. It was about 1871 that I first drew attention to the continental character of

the handwriting of the Oxford manuscript of *Eutyches* formerly at Glastonbury, and of the Luxemburg fragments of the *Hisperica Famina* formerly at St Wilbrord's monastery of Epternach. It seemed to me clearly impossible that they could have been written in Wales, though treated by Zeuss as Welsh. Further, in spite of a rooted determination to avoid all semblance of trespassing on the domain of philology, I could not help noticing that some of the grammatical forms appearing in these two manuscripts were, wherever distinguishable, rather Breton than Welsh. The Celtic philologists, however, were unwilling, or did not care, to accept the suggestion. In point of fact, as no Breton literature was traceable back beyond the fifteenth century, and no scraps of the Breton dialect earlier than the twelfth century were known to exist, except those which occurred in stray names or phrases in the two eleventh-century cartularies of Redon and Landevennech, the suggestion was treated as almost too good to be true, and was certainly not to be accepted without caution. When, however, in 1876, book after book came to light, as I went from place to place in search of them, the philologists began gradually to waver. In the course of three or four weeks I came upon a *Hibernensis* at Oxford, an *Amalarius* at Cambridge, and two more copies of the *Hibernensis* in Paris; then, after training my eyes in undoubted Breton writing by a study of the cartulary of Landevennech at Quimper and of that of Redon at Rennes, I returned to England and found a fourth *Hibernensis* in the British Museum, all then first examined from this point of view and all containing in their vernacular glosses abundant evidence of Breton origin. And when, a year later, in 1877, I went to Orleans and found a fifth copy of the *Hibernensis*, with some 320 of these glosses, almost every page being sprinkled with them, all doubt was finally removed even from the minds of the philologists. This however did not concern my own particular studies. By the light of such overwhelming evidence it became clear that Brittany had been overlooked; that its long-forgotten history must be re-examined with care; and that a continuation of the search for scattered manuscripts bearing evidence of their having been written in the country, could not fail to be pro-

ductive of fruitful results. By the accession of these new materials the study of the Breton dialect had been placed on an entirely new footing; and from the same cause it seemed to me as if the whole question of the origin of the *Hibernensis* and its associated literature would have to be reconsidered. At this point, as might be expected, your edition of the *Hibernensis* and your *Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, as well as Prof. Maassen's *History*¹, came in for their share of criticism. The absolutely perfect methods adopted by yourself in editing these two books and by Prof. Maassen in his *History*, had naturally made me all the more eager to pursue my investigations into the subject when provided with such aids, the very using of which gave a double pleasure to the work. These three books had literally become my daily companions for several years. Now the more I worked at the contents of the manuscripts and the more I analysed their component parts and, above all, the evidence of origin afforded by the apparently miscellaneous entries in them (really the most instructive of all for this purpose), the more it became clear to me that the very perplexities exhibited in your books respecting the origin and earliest history and spread of the *Hibernensis*, and indeed of the whole group of these primitive British-Irish documents, would in great measure have been removed, if the true place of Brittany in the development of this literature had ever been recognised by you. And so my investigation went on, until, in 1880, circumstances occurred which compelled me to devote all my scanty leisure to a wholly different subject, though I fondly hoped that the discussion of the *Hibernensis* was laid aside only for a time.

In spite of the extremely egotistical nature of these remarks, I do not scruple to send them to you, as they will enable you to see at once that, since we start from such completely different points of view, our conclusions, however much they differ, can hardly be said to clash. My conclusions are, I believe, in no case directed against any arguments which have been brought

¹ Geschichte der Quellen und der Mittelalters. Bd. i. Gratz, 1870-71, Literatur des canonischen Rechts im 8vo. Abendlande bis zum Ausgange des

forward by you, but serve rather to fill up the gaps which are left in your account of the development of the work.

I will only now interpose a very brief list of the manuscripts referred to in the ensuing propositions as either containing the *Hibernensis* or bearing most closely on its origin and early history. The numbers follow those given in the Introduction to your edition of 1874, where they exist; and I have added numbers to those which are not so marked by you or are from other causes added by me to the list. The supposed Lyons manuscript does not, and never did, exist. The idea of its existence originated in a slip of the pen in Klee's notice in the *Serapeum*, from which all subsequent writers have gained their information instead of going back to Libri's original note in the *Journal des Savants*, which Klee was translating for the benefit of his German readers. I have marked with an asterisk those which I have examined myself.

No. 1. St Gallen, Stiftsbibl. MS. 243. (I have photographic copies of two pages.)

No. 2. *Cambrai, Bibl. Comm. MS. 619 (formerly in the Cathedral library).

No. 3. *Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 12021 (formerly at St Germain's, previously at Corbie, originally in Brittany).

No. 4. *Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 3182 (formerly in the Bigot collection, previously at Fécamp, originally in Brittany).

No. 5. Cologne, Dombibl. MS. 2178.

No. 6. Rome, Vallicelliana, MS. A. 18.

No. 7. *British Museum, MS. Cotton Otho E. XIII (formerly at St Augustine's, Canterbury, originally in Brittany).

No. 8. *Chartres, Bibl. Comm. MS. 127 (formerly in the Cathedral library).

[No. 9. Strassburg, now lost.]

No. 10. *Orleans, Bibl. Comm. MS. 193 (formerly at Fleury on the Loire, originally in Brittany).

No. 11. *Oxford, Bodl. Libr. MS. Hatton 42 (formerly at Glastonbury, originally in Brittany).

No. 12. *Tours, Bibl. Comm. MS. 556 (formerly at Marmoutier).

No. 13. *Cambrai, Bibl. Comm. MS. 576 (formerly in the Cathedral library).

No. 14. *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 279 (formerly at Worcester, originally in what is now Belgium or France).

The following are some of the propositions, which I hope to be able to substantiate, or to see substantiated by others, when the materials at our disposal have been more fully and methodically studied.

I.

That the thirteen existing manuscripts (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14), which either contain the *Hibernensis* or bear most closely on its origin and early history, were all written on the continent, and none of them in England or Ireland.

II.

That five of these manuscripts (nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 12) afford no independent evidence concerning the origin and earliest history of the *Hibernensis*.

III.

That five others of these manuscripts (nos. 3, 4, 7, 10, 11) contain [not Irish, as has been stated, but] Breton interlinear or marginal glosses, and must have been written in Brittany, one by a Breton scribe Arbedoc for a Breton abbat Hael-Hucar (no. 3), another by a Breton scribe Maeloc (no. 4), and a third by a Breton scribe Junobrus (no. 10).

IV.

That the remaining three of these manuscripts (nos. 2, 13, 14), though not themselves written in Brittany, show marks of very close relationship with one or more of the above five Brittany manuscripts.

V.

That two clearly marked recensions of the *Hibernensis* are traceable :

(1) the A-text, arranged under 65 *tituli*, where the latest author cited is Theodore, who died in 690, and he only from that form of his Penitential which has been preserved exclusively in our Brittany manuscripts ; and

(2) the B-text, arranged under 68 *tituli*, where the latest author cited is Adamnan, who died in 704, and he only from that form of the Canons attributed to him which has been preserved exclusively in our five Brittany manuscripts ; and that both of these texts are found in an unsophisticated state in these Brittany manuscripts (no. 3, A-text ; no. 4, A-text ; no. 7, A-text, with supplement of B-text ; no. 10, A-text ; no. 11, B-text).

VI.

That these five Brittany manuscripts (nos. 3, 4, 7, 10, 11) are distinguished by the peculiarity that they all, and they alone, contain annexed to the *Hibernensis* the two pieces known as the *Excerpta ex libris Romanorum et Francorum* and the *Canones Adamnani* ; and that the titles thus given to these two pieces may without difficulty be shown to point to Ireland as the quarter in which these titles would most naturally be assigned to them.

VII.

That three of the manuscripts more or less closely connected with Brittany (no. 3 written there, and nos. 2 and 14 not written there) bear undeniable marks of being derived from manuscripts which had been in Irish hands, though evidently themselves written by scribes unacquainted with the Irish language.

VIII.

That the *Hibernensis* was compiled at the opening of the eighth century by an Irish monk or abbat of Dairinis in the south-east of Ireland, and that the name and home of the com-

piler may yet be recognised, although buried in the Breton scribe's corruptly written rubric, which stands thus

"Hucvsq; nuben & cv. cuiminia. & du rinis"

in what is certainly the most primitive, although not perhaps the oldest, of all the existing copies of the *Hibernensis* (no. 3).

IX.

That this hitherto unrecognised compiler of the *Hibernensis* may, without any strain either of language or of evidence, be looked upon as possibly identical with the *Cummeanus abbas in Scotia ortus* to whom the penitential literature of the eighth century is so much indebted; who, it is allowed, must of necessity have been an Irishman settled on the continent at the opening of the eighth century, thus being precisely contemporary with the compiler of the *Hibernensis*; while his materials stand in the closest possible connexion with the materials used in the *Hibernensis*, exhibiting, as they do, a combination of Frankish documents with others of British and Irish origin which are only known to us at present as preserved in and through Brittany by means of one or other of the manuscripts included in our list.

X.

That we shall not render ourselves liable to the charge of rashness or hasty speculation if we regard as one and the same person,

(1) the Gildas cited in the *Hibernensis* and in the kindred compilation which is included in one of the manuscripts (no. 14) which shows an intimate connexion with our Brittany series;

(2) the Gildas to whom we owe the formation of the only remaining collection of British Synods (the *Synodus Luci Victoriae*, the *Synodus Aquilonalis Britanniae*, the *Excerpta ex libro Davidis*, with a *Praefatio* by Gildas himself prefixed to the collection), which has been transcribed, with additions from Theodore and Adamnan, into one of our Brittany manuscripts (no. 4) and thence into another (no. 13);

(3) the British Gildas, to whom (with Cadoc and David) the "second order" of Irish saints, the Catholic presbyters, owed their form of service; and

(4) the Gildas who, after working in Britain and Ireland, passed over into Brittany, where he spent the remainder of his life and died in the monastery founded by himself at Ruys in the south of Brittany.

XI.

That Brittany is the district,—long overlooked, so that even Wasserscheleben and Maassen failed to recognise it,—the one district on the continent, where British and Irish documents existed side by side with those of Frankish origin, and where alone (so far as our present knowledge extends) such compilations as those cited in the *Hibernensis* and occurring in our Brittany and closely allied manuscripts (nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14) were to be found in the eighth and early ninth centuries.

XII.

That the decay of the Celtic institutions in Brittany (as in Scotland and elsewhere) was completed under the influence of the new and revived religious life which permeated western Europe in the twelfth century; and that the most precious and useful books were then transferred from Brittany to the great monasteries of the new life, precisely as, owing to the religious and political movements of the sixteenth, the eighteenth, and the nineteenth centuries in England, in France and Germany, and in Italy respectively, the treasures of the dissolved religious houses were dispersed, and have now to be looked for in the national and municipal or university and collegiate libraries in their respective countries; while the old and faultily written copies, the *libri vetusti et inutiles*, which would now be priceless in our eyes for historical purposes, were left naturally to perish, so that the marvel is that any such remnants should have been allowed to survive to the present day.

Until you have fuller materials before you, these propositions may at least serve the purpose of suggestions. They may

perhaps lead some student to take pleasure in pursuing the investigation further; and if they are but honestly pursued, light will assuredly come to clear up what is a deeply interesting, even though a most obscure, question in literary history.

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY BRADSHAW.

To

Dr F. W. H. WASSERSCHLEBEN.

NOTE.

It may be as well to print here certain extracts from the introduction to the *Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851, 8vo.) and from Maassen's *Geschichte* (Graz, 1871, 8vo.), to which allusion has been made in the preceding pages. They are passages which concern the problem of the coexistence of British-Irish and Frankish documents in the same volume, especially in the Paris manuscript (Lat. 3182) which is marked no. 4 in our list. Mr Haddan, in the first volume of the *Councils* (Oxford, 1869, 8vo. p. 116), speaks of the canons of the British synods as "documents, preserved in the north of France, obviously through Brittany"; but unfortunately there is no trace of any independent research in that part of his book, and this suggestion, or rather assumption, on his part never led him on to any further investigations or conclusions. When treating afterwards of Brittany he makes no allusion to the subject. Had any of these writers realised that the great Paris manuscript and others containing similar literature were written in Brittany, had they made any anatomical study of the manuscripts themselves, I feel sure that almost all that I have said in the preceding pages would have long since been anticipated.

"Zu den bestrittensten und dunkelsten Fragen in der Geschichte der Bussordnungen gehört die über Alter und Ursprung des Pönitentials, welches dem Kommean oder Kummean oder Kumian, (Kumin, Komin) zugeschrieben wird..." Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, p. 61.

"In Betreff des Vaterlandes waren bis jetzt Alle einig, Kummean und sein Werk galt als irischen oder schottischen Ursprungs, und die Bezeichnung des Verfassers in der St Galler Handschrift als *abbas in Scotia ortus* schien diese Annahme ausser Zweifel zu stellen. Gleichwohl ist diese eine irrige, und selbst jene Bezeichnung deutet entschieden darauf hin, dass Kummean seine Bussordnung nicht in seinem Vaterlande verfasste, sondern sich in einem andern Lande befand. Betrachten wir die Quellen,

aus welchen Kummeean schöpfte, so finden wir zunächst hibernische Kanonen und eine reiche Benutzung namentlich Theodor's..." *Id. ib.* pp. 63—64.

"Ausser Theodor ist von Kummeean, wie ich schon oben erwähnte, eine andere Sammlung vielfach benutzt, welche auch ausserdem besonders durch ihr irisches Material interessant ist, und welche ich *Poenitentiale Bigotianum* genannt habe, nach der einzigen Handschrift, welche von ihr erhalten ist. Dieselbe befindet sich im *Cod. Paris. reg.* 3182, früher *Bigot.* 89, p. 286—299, demselben, aus welchem ich die meisten irischen und altbritischen Bussordnungen mitgetheilt habe,... Ausser zahlreichen hibernischen Kanonen unter der Inscription: *canones sapientium et Gregorii, canones patrum*, u. A. auch aus dem Werke des Vinniaus, und ausser dem Theodor'schen Pönitential, sind fränkische Beichtbücher, Cassianus und die *Vitae Sanctorum* vielfach benutzt, so dass die Vermuthung, der Verfasser sei ein Irländer gewesen und habe diess Werk im fränkischen Reiche zusammengestellt, sehr nahe liegt." *Id. ib.* pp. 67—68.

"Der Stamm dieser Zusammenstellung [*Cod. Paris. Lat.* 3182], wohin ich die irische Sammlung, die irischen, altbritischen, und angelsächsischen Busscanonen, die Excerpte aus der h. Schrift und aus den Kirchenvätern rechne, ist ohne Zweifel irischen Ursprungs. Ihrem Urheber stand im wesentlichen derselbe Quellenkreis zu Gebote wie dem Autor der irischen Sammlung. Wahrscheinlich ist, dass die übrigen Stücke erst auf fränkischem Boden an diesen Stamm gesetzt sind, dass also die Verbindung, wie sie in der Handschrift von Fécamp vorliegt, nicht irischen, sondern fränkischen Ursprungs ist." Maassen, *Geschichte*, p. 786.

[NOTE. This letter is printed at length by Dr Wasserschleben in the introduction to his second edition (Leipzig, 1885, 8°), with criticisms which, as Mr Bradshaw felt, shew little appreciation of the line of enquiry upon which these conclusions are founded.

As for the rubric quoted on p. 417, Mr Whitley Stokes suggested 'Ruben' for 'nuben', and I remember Mr Bradshaw regarded the second & as an error for 'ex', the two being much alike. J.]

A Half-Century of Notes.

there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge,

A
Half-Century of Notes

on the

Day-Book of John Dorne

Bookseller in Oxford, A.D. 1520,

as edited by

F. Madan

for the

Oxford Historical Society.

Contributed

by

Henry Bradshaw.

Cambridge :

1886.

nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest'. Ecclesiastes, 9, 10.

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for

+ 'Quasi morientes et ecce vivimus'.

[The Day-book, to which these notes refer, is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. It consists of 16 leaves, upon which John Dorne has entered, in double column and on both sides of the paper, the books he sold and their prices. The mention of various saints' days, together with Dorne's habit of drawing a line at the end of a day's transactions, has made it possible for Mr Madan to indicate throughout the list the exact day to which each entry belongs. He has also numbered the entries consecutively (1—1851); and the numbers placed by Mr Bradshaw before the titles quoted in his notes refer to this numeration. The higher numbers (1852—1952) do not belong to Dorne's list at all, but to an older document (written on the fly-leaf of a volume in the Bodleian,) which Mr Madan has printed at the end of the Day-book of John Dorne. It is an inventory (with prices) of books received in 1483 for sale by John Hunt, stationer of the university of Oxford, from Magister Peter Actor and Johannes de Aquisgrano; to whom he promises to restore the books or pay the price affixed in the list. Of Mr Bradshaw's notes nos. 9, 17, 22, 24, 25, 38, 40, 42, 43, 48 relate to this earlier collection. J.]

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

January 30, 1886.

My dear Madan,

The care and patience with which you have edited the Day-Book of John Dorne ought to have secured you an earlier acknowledgement on my part. The separate-copy reached me at the beginning of this week; and, as it happens that I have been unequal to much serious work during the interval, the interest and amusement which such a book naturally provides for me has come at a most welcome time.

I have been through it over and over again, every time finding some new light which it throws upon the subject in which we both feel a strong interest. To show you the sincerity of my thanks, I have put down a few notes in which I have brought some of the entries to bear upon one another with very satisfactory results. You will be glad to have them, though I dare say many of them express rash views which may have been entertained by yourself for a moment, but have been rejected on the second thoughts which come before final publication. The notes are arranged in the order of your first Index, and I have added a small supplementary Index, in which I have endeavoured to follow your admirable method.

It is not until such a book is actually in print, with the contractions and abbreviations all honestly marked, just as you have done here, that it becomes possible to investigate the further problems which such a document presents. It augurs well for your Historical Society, if the publications continue to show the same amount of intelligent care which you have brought to bear upon this.

Yours very sincerely,

HENRY BRADSHAW.

LIST OF ENTRIES ILLUSTRATED IN THE FOLLOWING NOTES.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Esopus grecus 1 quaternus. | 24. Johannes de vassolis in 4 ^{to} sententiarum. |
| 2. Miraculum sancti augustini. | 25. Postille de sancto laurentio. |
| 3. Quaterni of barkely. | 26. Opusculum insolubilium (oxonie). |
| 4. Modus viuendi omnium fo (qu. fidelium?). | 27. Lynwodde. |
| 5. Breuiarium romanum pro fratribus augustinianis. | „ Constitutiones prouinciales. |
| 6. Carmen iuuenile (Stans puer ad mensam in latino). | 28. Epistole karoli. |
| „ Stans puer ad mensam in englis. | 29. Sant margerit lyf. |
| 7. The lyf of san kerasinus. | 30. Lamentation of our lady. |
| 8. Cronica anglie van 2 quaterni. | 31. The myracke of our lady ypsu-wise (?). |
| 9. Complot...(?) | 32. Rosarium beate marie virginis. |
| 10. Cokeri. | 33. The complant of sant magdalene). |
| 11. Ciclus vel almanack. | 34. Medulla grammatice. |
| 12. Diurnale sarum. | 35. Mundus a play. |
| 13. Colloquia erasmi alst. | 36. Opusculum de vera nobi(litate). |
| „ Colloquia erasmi lo(uanii). | 37. Pamphulus de amore. |
| 14. Colloquia erasmi de 9 ^{es} (?). | 38. Epistole petri blesensis. |
| 15. ff vetus textus paruum. | 39. Pronosticon in en bigls (?). |
| 16. Frans end englis. | 40. De Restitutionibus. |
| 17. Preceptorium godscalej. | 41. The lyf of sant rocke. |
| 18. Hackū end hōtīgle. | 42. Sermones XIII. |
| 19. Husbandry. | 43. Quinque specula. |
| 20. Hymni cum nottis. | 44. Spera heginy. |
| 21. Festum de nomine Jhesu paruum. | 45. Summa angelica. |
| „ Primarium premonstra[ten]-sium in 2 ^{bus} ant[iquum]. | 46. Theologia naturalis. |
| 22. Glosa super apocalipsim. | 47. Theorica planetarum. |
| 23. Saint jon euuangeliste en tre-lute (?). | 48. Walensis super psalterium. |
| | 49. Virgilius in englis van 4 quaterni. |
| | 50. Tractatus sacer de ^{la} (?). |

[XXIV.] A HALF-CENTURY OF NOTES ON F. MADAN'S
EDITION OF THE "DAY-BOOK OF JOHN DORNE,
BOOKSELLER IN OXFORD, A.D. 1520."

NOTES ON INDEX I (Authors and Books).

1 *Aesopus*.

1245 1 esopus grecus 1 quaternus (with 2 others). 4^d.

This can hardly be an Esop in Greek. 'Esopus Grecus' is the usual title of the "Facecie morales Laur. Vallensis alias Esopus grecus", of which there were seven editions printed in the Netherlands alone in the fifteenth century, each consisting of one quire (6 leaves in 4°, '1 quaternus'); see CA. 31—37. [Throughout these notes CA stands for Campbell's *Annales de la Typographie Néerlandaise au xv^e siècle*, La Haye, 1874, 8°.]

2 *Augustinus (S. Aurelius)*.

127 1 miraculum sancti augustini. 1^d.

This seems less likely to refer to St Augustine of Hippo than to St Augustine of Canterbury, one of whose miracles in raising a dead body at Long Compton forms the subject of a poem which was very popular in the xvth century. An edition of it printed at Canterbury stands first in the list of books printed there, as given by Herbert.

3 *Barclay (Alexander)*.

1254 7 quaterni of barkely. 3^d.

Surely the 7 here, as elsewhere in this Day-book, means seven copies of what was sold. The price shows that it must have been something very small, $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d each and one thrown in when half a dozen were taken.

4 *Bernardus (S.) Clarae-vallensis*.

133 1 modus viuendi ounn (= one ?) fo[lio]. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^d.

I think ounn must be written not oūn but oīm = omnium, and if fo can be read fī, the book is probably Gerson's *De modo viuendi omnium fidelium*, of which you will find a separate edition in CA. 815 (Louvain, Jo. de Westfalia, about 1484), and a com-

bined but separable edition in CA. 821 + 818 + 818 note (Antwerp, Math. Goes, ab. 1487). See also Hain *7671 (with two other treatises by Gerson), 30 leaves 4°.

5 *Breviarium*.

- 764 1 breuiarium romanum pro fratribus augustinianis
li'. 3^s 4^d.

This *pro fratribus* can hardly mean that this book was sold to them, but that it was printed for them. The Augustinian Friars or Hermits adopted the Roman use, so they naturally used the Roman Breviary. But further than this, we have an edition of the Roman Breviary (1508, 8°), with the Kalendar modified and an Appendix added to the book (printed with it) containing special offices for the use of the Austin Friars. A purchaser is mentioned differently; 730 to gybs; see also 174, 1790, and 830, 1179.

6 *Carmen juvenile*.

- 166^a 1 stans puer ad mensam. 1^d.
166^c 1 Stans puer ad mensam. 1^d.
377 1 stans puer ad mensam. 1^d.
536 1 stans puer ad mensam in quaternis (with another).
11^d.
565 2 stans puer ad mensam. 2^d.
575 2 carmen juvenile (with 5 others of Stanbridge). 9^d.
671 2 stans puer ad mensam. 2^d.
684 5 stans puer ad mensam in quaternis (with 7
others). 4^d.
929 1 Stans puer ad mensam 1 quaternus. 1^d.
1069 1 Stans puer ad mensam (with two others). 5^d.
1084 1 stans puer ad mensam 9 [1 ?] quater' (with two
others). 4^d.
1088 1 Stans puer ad mensam. 1^d.
1221 6 stans puer ad mensam in la^o [latino ?]. 6^d.
1484 2 stans puer ad mensam in en[glis] (with two others).
6^d.
1679 1 stans puer ad mensam (with another). 8^d.

The original Latin is by Joh. Sulpitius Verulanus, and in W. de Worde's edition of 1518 is entitled 'Stans puer ad mensam. Iuvenile carmen de moribus puerorum in mensa seruandis'. In CA. 1623—1625 are three Deventer editions printed between

1490 and 1500. In these the title is 'Ioannis Sulpicii Verulani de moribus puerorum Carmen Iuvenile'; and here as in the London editions the work consists of a single quire, whether of 4 or 6 leaves. No. 575 may be a foreign edition, and the rest printed in London. From No. 929 we see that it consisted of a single quire. No. 1484 is Lidgate's version of the poem in 7-line stanzas, which was printed by Caxton (1477-78, 4 leaves, 4°) and again by W. de Worde, with the Book of Courtesy or Little John subjoined to it. We have copies of both editions here.

7 *Cerasinus* (*St*).

1110 1 the lyf of sant erasmus. 1^d.

1625 1 the lyf of san kerasinus. 1^d.

I think these two entries must refer to the same book. Dorne is frequently at fault when he has to deal with English books. The addition of this life is what distinguishes the second from the first issue of Caxton's large folio edition of the Golden Legend (1st issue about 1484, 2nd issue about 1490). This fact, which was unknown to Mr Blades when he wrote his book, may serve to date the rise of the cultus of St Erasmus, which had certainly become widely spread by 1520. His name is written in an extraordinary variety of ways, as may be seen from the extracts from the parish accounts of Trinity Church, Cambridge, which I printed a short time ago in the Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. The actual book sold by Dorne is not unlikely to have been a copy of the separate Life of St Erasmus printed by Julian Notary (London, 1520, 4 leaves, 4°) noticed by Herbert. It is in the British Museum (296. h. 7).

8 *Chronica Angliæ*.

993 1 cronica anglie 2 qua[*ternis*]. 1^d.

1027 1 cronica anglie van 2 qua[*terni*] (with 2 others). 4^d.

The two quires are two single quarto sheets (each of four leaves and printed separately), the first containing the Kings' names in order from the fabulous Kings of Britain downwards, and the second starting from William the Conqueror and bringing the list down to Henry VIII. whose accession it mentions (1509), but adds no details of his reign, having all the appearance of having been compiled shortly after the accession of Henry VIII. We have copies of both, printed by W. de Worde, the second part bearing the date 1530. (This copy is mentioned by Herbert, p. 181.) It is natural to assume that earlier editions were printed between 1509 and 1520, which may have been for sale in Dorne's shop.

9 *Complot...*1932 *Complot...*1933 *Complot...p*

You must have overlooked the fact that these books were not sold by Dorne in 1520, but were offered for sale by Hunt in 1483, and therefore cannot "conceivably" have reference to the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.

10 *Cookery.*219 1 cokery (with another). 4^d.905 1 the bocke of kockery. 4^d.1442 1 the bocke of cokeri (with another). 4^d.1815 1 the bocke of kokery. 4^d.

The edition printed by Pynson in 1500 consists of 62 leaves in 4^o, so that the price is not unsuitable. It may interest some of your readers to learn that this "noble book of feasts" shown to Herbert by the Duchess of Portland (who, it may be remembered, was the only child and heir of Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, the collector of the "Harleian Library") passed to her *eldest* daughter, who was the wife of the 1st Marquis of Bath; and the book is consequently, by natural descent, now to be found in the library of her great-grandson, the present and 4th Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

11 *Cyclus.*235 1 ciclus. 1^d.290 1 ciclus vel almanack. 1^d.

All the 27 entries, which are not worth writing out, are with one exception (359 1 *Ciclus pronosticon* 1^d), either *Ciclus vel almanack* or simply *Ciclus*, and always cost 1^d when sold separately. I cannot think that the word *Ciclus* has any reference to the circular form in which the months and festivals were disposed on the sheet, but rather that it was a sheet containing the current 19-year or 28-year cycle, or some other definite number of years, with the days of Easter and other moveable feasts added in successive columns. Such a cycle, sometimes called a *Tabula*, sometimes an *Almanack*, for so many years, is frequently found in Breviaries, occupying a page immediately following the Kalendar.

12 *Diurnale.*298 1 diurnale sarum. 1^s 4^d.

The price is that of a single volume of the small Rouen edition

of the *Portos* (Portiforium), as may be seen in nos 1131 and 1620; and the *Diurnale*, as containing all the day-hours, that is all the Hours with the omission of Mattins, would naturally run to about that size. A copy of the edition printed in Paris for sale in London (1512, 16°) is in the Lambeth Library, and mention is made, in the preface to this edition, of two earlier and less correctly printed editions. It is described in Dr Maitland's *List*, and it is also in Mr F. H. Dickinson's List of service-books.

13 *Erasmus (Desiderius).*

- 688 1 colloquia erasmi alst. 4^d.
 1141 1 erasmus de constructione louani. 3^d. [You have printed this louani; are the italic and roman letters here accidentally changed about, or what does it mean ?]
 1195 1 colloquia erasmi alst. 4^d.
 1234 1 enchiridion paruum alst ligatum in pergameno. 10^d.
 1261 1 colloquia erasmi alst. 4^d.
 1272 1 formule colloquiorum erasmi alst. 4^d.
 1367 1 enchiridion erasmi paruum lo[uanii] ligatum in pergameno recepi. 2^s. (With another book) 2^s.
 1377 1 Enchiridion erasmi lo[uanii ?] (with another book). 1^s 2^d.
 1389 1 enchiridion erasni lova[nii]. 6^d.
 1537 1 erasmus de constructione lo[uanii] ligatus in pergameno recepi 1^s. (With another book) 1^s.
 1599 1 colloquia erasmi lo[uanii]. 4^d.
 1739 1 colloquia erasmi lo[uanii]. 4^d.

Aalst or Aelst is the vernacular name of the town which we know as Alost. Thierry Martens, the friend of Erasmus and printer of many of his books, having started as a printer in his native town of Alost, removed to Antwerp in 1493 and afterwards to Louvain; and he is called by himself and his friends indiscriminately either Theodoricus Martini or Theodoricus Alostensis. The above list of entries tend to shew that Dorne distinguished Thierry Martens' editions from others at first by the printer's name (Alst) and afterwards by the place of their publication (lo- or loua-nii).

14 *Erasmus (Desiderius).*

- 1387 1 colloquia erasmi de q^{es} [?]} 8^d.
 1388 1 erasmus de constructione }

Is it possible that “de q^{es}” may have been Dorne’s first entry of the *De constructione*, which, seeing that it was actually a separate book from the *colloquia*, he at once re-wrote on the next line, without erasing the first incorrect entry? Is the final letter of “q^{es}” quite clear, and is it the letter q or q=con?

15 *Ff.*

1359 1 ff vetus textus paruum ligatum. 2^s.

You have placed the similar entry (629 1 codex paruum ligatum 6^s) under *Justinianus* in your index; so this ought to have been placed there also, being a copy of the *Digestum Vetus* (commonly written *Ff vetus*), the text only, without gloss, in small size.

16 *French and English.*

117 1 frans and englis (with 3 others). 1^s 2^d.

942 1 frans end englich (with another). 2^d.

Besides Caxton’s edition, which you mention, there is one printed at Westminster by W. de Worde (ab. 1498), 4^o, in the Grenville collection. In the Douce volume containing ‘Early Typographical Fragments’ n^o 6 is a fragment of Caxton’s edition (ab. 1480), F^o. and n^o 18 is a fragment of W. de Worde’s 4^o. There is also a third, printed by Pynson, in the British Museum, and Dorne’s books may belong to any of these editions.

17 *Godeschalcus (Johannes).*

1905 Preceptorium godscalej 1 7^s 4^d.

Surely this is the *Praeceptorium divinae legis* of Gottschalcus Hollen, the Augustinian Hermit, of which Hain gives several editions (8765—8770), one of them at least early enough to find a place in Hunt’s list.

18 *Hackum and Hontigle.*

1018 1 hackum end hontigle. 4^d.

You will think me very bold (or rather presumptuous), but Dorne shows himself so hopeless where he has to deal with English books, that I am quite prepared to see, through the mist of this entry, the little quarto pamphlet issues of “Hawking” and “Hunting” issued by W. de Worde about this time. We have the “Hunting” in our library, and the “Fishing” is well known. The price would suit perfectly for such a book.

19 *Husbandry.*

1323 1 husbandry. 1^d.

Our copy of the edition you mention, which is certainly from W. de Worde's press, cannot well be later than 1510 (12 leaves, 4^o). It is attributed to Bp Grosseteste (Groshead) as translator.

20 *Hymni.*

1346^b (not 1345) 1 hymni cum nottis lig' (with two others).
3^s 8^d.

1802 1 liber hymnorum cum nottis li'. 1^s 4^d.

The *Hymni cum notis* seem to have been first published in 1518, after which date several editions are found. The book thus exactly takes the place of the school-book *Expositio hymnorum*, which was published almost every year (sometimes twice in one year) from 1496 to 1518, when the latest known edition appeared.

21 *Jesus Christ.*

968 1 primarium premonstra[ten]sium in 2^{bus} ant[iquum]
[no price]

969 1 festum de nomine Jhesu paruum 4^s 6^d.

979 1 festum de nomine Jhesu par[is] 4^d.

1013 2 festum de nomine Jhesu li[gatum] pergameno 2^s 7^d.

This seems to be a separate copy of the office for the Name of Jesus, which is kept on the 7th of August. Being quite a recent festival, it is not to be found in any of the old editions of the Breviary or Missal. It is worth notice that these copies are all entered by Dorne under August 5. [When I wrote this, I did not understand Dorne's mode of entry. I now see that two copies (969, 979) were sold on the actual festival of the Name of Jesus (August 7), and the third (1013) two days later, while the services of the octave were still going on.] The British Museum has a copy printed by Pynson about 1493, in 4^o, and Mr Horner, of Mells, has one printed by Pynson about 1497, also in 4^o. In your first entry I cannot help thinking that the two books (968, 969) should have been bracketed together, with 4^s 6^d as the price for the two. I should then prefer to read *breviarium* rather *primarium*, and it might then (being *antiquum*) refer to the Præmonstratensian Breviary printed by Thierry Martens at Alost in 1488. It is difficult also to see how a Primer could either form two volumes or reach such a price. Besides all which it must be remembered that *Primarium* was a peculiarly Anglican name, and of the only other two similar entries you give (183 Cisterciense and 293 Car[thusianum?]), the second is at least very doubtful. In 979 I should prefer, if possible, that *par* should stand for par[uum] (see 969) rather than for par[is], as I believe you do sometimes

expand it. All the recently Paris-printed breviaries contained the office in its place under August 7, and the only separate editions traceable are those printed in the interval between the introduction of the new festival and the incorporation of the office into the books, that is, between 1420 and 1500. I have never seen or heard of any foreign-printed edition of any of the English *Nora Festa*. We know, besides the two by Pynson of the Name of Jesus, one by Caxton, and one by W. de Machlinia of the Visitation of the BVM, and one by Caxton and one by W. de Machlinia of the Transfiguration, and one by Caxton of the Compassion of the BVM.

22 *Johannes (S.) Evangelista.*

1917 Glosa super apocalipsim 4 quilibet. 8^d.

This must be the work of Joannes Viterbiensis entitled "Glosa super Apocalipsim de statu ecclesie ab anno salutis presenti sc. M. cccc. lxxxj. vsque ad finem mundi et de preclaro et gloriosissimo triumpho Christianorum in Turcos & Maumetos quorum secta et imperium breuiter incipiet deficere ex fundamentis Joannis in Apocalipsi et ex sensu litterali eiusdem apertissimo cum consonantia et iudiciis astrorum." Editions printed at Louvain by Jo. de Westfalia and at Gouda by Ger. Leeu are given in CA. 1276 and 1277; and either would answer to the entry in Hunt's list of 1483. The Gouda edition is in your Auctarium, Q. inf. 1. 8.

23 *Johannes (S.) Evangelista.*

1553 1 saint jon euuangeliste *en trelute* [?]. 1^d.

You will say I am too severe upon Dorne's English, but it seems quite within the range of possibility that this may be a short *interlude*, of which St John formed the subject, resembling the similar productions which Bale mentions among his own writings as 'in idiomate materno comedias sub diuerso metrorum genere.' Compare the price of 'Mundus a play' under N^o 1530.

24 *Johannes de Vassolis.*

1895 Johanes de vassolis in 4^{to} sententiarum 1. 4^s 8^d.

The letters *v* and *b* are often confounded in writing, reading, and speaking. Johannes de Bassoliis (or Bassolis) was a favourite disciple of Scotus himself, and Wadding, in his *Scriptores Ord. Min.*, mentions a revised edition of this author's work on the four books of the sentences as having been printed at Paris (apud Nic. de Pratis) in 1517. It is not improbable that an earlier edition, now lost, may have found a place in Hunt's list of 1483. The

school-name for this author as quoted by Wadding is *Doctor ornatissimus*, while in Mansi's Fabricius it is given as *Doctor ordinatissimus*. While speaking of Hunt's list may I ask whether it consists of two separate leaves, or of two leaves still forming a sheet? Unless they are necessarily joined together, would it not be more natural to look upon Hunt's heading as standing at the beginning of the whole list, so that what you have printed as N^{os} 1889 to 1917 should take precedence of N^{os} 1852—1888?

25 *Laurentius (S.)*.

1911 Postille de s^co laurentio 1. 3^s 4^d.

The book here mentioned in Hunt's list must be the 'Postille euangeliorum dominicalium totius anni et aliquorum festorum' of Johannes de sancto Laurentio printed at Brussels in 1480, a small folio of 198 leaves (CA. 1041). You have a copy in your Auctarium, marked 6Q. 2. 7.

26 *Logica*.

482 1 Jnsolubilium oxonie. 1^d.

505 1 Jnsolubilium oxonie. 1^d.

1024 2 Jnsolubilium. 2^d.

1051 1 Jnsolubilium. 1^d.

1518 2 Jnsolubilium. 2^d.

1720 1 Jnsolubilium. 1^d.

1730 1 Jnsolubilium ~~erasmi~~ [sic]. 1^d.

1800 1 opusculum J[n]solubilium. 1^d.

1806 2 J[n]solubilium. 2^d.

1813 1 jnsolubilium (with 2 others). 2^d.

As the price never exceeds a penny, it is inconceivable that these entries can refer to Swyneshed's *Insolubilia*, which is a fairly thick quarto volume, as printed at Oxford about 1483—85. It seems rather to be a single sheet of the same kind as the 'Bene fundatum oxonie' which was sold with n^o 1813.

27 *Lyndewode (Gulielmus)*.

872 1 lynwodde ligatus. 6^s 8^d.

1356 1 lynwodde ligatus. 6^s 8^d.

577 1 constitutiones prouinciales ligate in corio (with another). 2^s 1^d.

1600 1 constitutiones prouinciales ligate in corio. 6^d.

The first two entries may well refer to the *Provinciale* with Lyndewode's large commentary, as it exists in the great folio

edition printed at Oxford about 1483—85, though the price would seem rather to point to one of the less bulky Paris reprints of 1505. The last two entries are probably the bare text of the Constitutions as printed by W. de Worde in 1496 and 1499 in small 8°. You have copies of both among Mr Douce's xvth cent. books, 12 (1496) and 2 (1499).

28 *Maneken (Carolus).*

381 1 epistole karoli. 5^d.

Campbell mentions eleven editions of this book printed in the Low Countries alone in the fifteenth century (CA. 1201—1211), but in that printed at Deventer by Jac. de Breda June 16, 1496 (74 leaves, 4°), the title consists of the very words entered by Dorne, corresponding letter for letter.

29 *Margaret (S^e).*

387 1 sant Margerit lyf. 3½^d.

675 1 sant margerit lyff (with another similar). 4^d.

Besides the edition by Mychell and an earlier one by Redman (12 leaves in 4°) Hazlitt mentions a fragment of 2 leaves as existing among the Douce fragments, which H. says was attributed by Mr Douce to Pynson. I saw a volume in your library in 1866, lettered 'Early Printed Fragments,' which I was told had belonged apparently to Hearne. The fragm^{ts} were at that time not numbered, but you will know the volume by its containing fragments of Caxton's Troybook and S^t Wenefryde and a leaf of Rastell's edition of Chaucer's Assembly of Fowls. It also contained a fragment of the Life of S^t Margaret, certainly printed by Pynson in the type which he used before the close of the xvth century.

30 *Maria (S.) Virgo Deipara.*

492 1 lamentation of oure lady. 1^d.

Our copy of W. de Worde's edition has the appearance of having been printed between 1502 and 1510, nearer 1502 than 1510. It consists of 6 leaves in 4°.

31 *Maria (S.) Virgo Deipara.*

257 1 the myracke of our lady ypsiiwise [?]. 2^d.

1193 1 the mirack[l]es of orce lady (with another). 4^d.

The second book in this latter entry, as also in the entry of S^t Margaret (675), is the life of S^t Katherine, which must therefore have cost 2^d, leaving 2^d as the price of the *Miracles of our Lady* in both the entries 257 and 1193. Hazlitt mentions two

editions printed by W. de Worde, one at Westminster about 1498 in 4° and another in Fleet Street in 1514, 24 leaves in 4°. Of the latter a copy is in the British Museum (Case 21. c.), from which it could easily be seen whether your conjecture is confirmed, by finding in a prominent position some narrative of miracles connected with Our Lady of Ipswich.

32 *Maria (S.) Virgo Deipara.*

1793 1 rosarium beate marie in latino. 3½^d.

1807 2 rosaria beate marie. 4^d.

1836 1 rosarium beate marie virginis. 1^d.

There is a Rosary bound up with a Sarum Horæ printed by Pynson in small narrow 12° in 1514, in Clare College library.

33 *Maria (S.) Magdalena.*

1176 1 the complant of sant magda[lene]. 1^d.

Hazlitt gives an edition printed by W. de Worde in 4° without date, from Caldecott's sale in 1883.

34 *Medulla grammaticæ.*

1132 1 medulla grammaticæ in quaternis. 5^d.

The book known by this name is the English-Latin Dictionary more commonly called the Promptorium Parvulorum, printed by Pynson in 1499 in small folio. You have a copy in your Auctarium, QQ. sup. 2. 10 (the last number is probably not correct now). It is called the Promptorium Parvulorum in the author's preface and Medulla Grammaticæ in the imprint; but the price here mentioned (5^d) seems to preclude the possibility of Dorne's book being the same as Pynson's.

35 *Mundus.*

1530 1 mundus a play. 2^d.

Surely this must be the 'Proper new interlude of the World and the Child (Mundus et Infans)', of which a reprint, taken from W. de Worde's edition dated July 17, 1522 (18 leaves in 4°), was presented to the Roxburghe Club by Lord Althorp in 1817. There is nothing to show that there may not have been earlier editions, and the price is not against this identification. With a good deal of careful comparison it would not be difficult after a time to infer from Dorne's prices the actual size of a book.

36 *Nobilitas.*

1649 1 opusculum de vera nobi[litate]. 5^d.

41 *Roche.*

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1032 | 1 sermones quintini ligati in corio | } 11 ^d . |
| 1039 | 1 the lyf of sant rocke | |

As we find four copies of the 'Sermones Quintini ligati in corio' (164, 217, 424, 1613) priced 10^d, and one in parchment at the same price (41), as against 632 charged 8^d and 198 sold for 11^d, it is fair to suppose that the Lyf of sant Rocke was a penny book, one of the 'Penny Godlinesses' of which Samuel Pepys made such a collection. The cultus of S^t Rock was so widely spread at this time, all the recent breviaries and missals having special offices and votive masses connected with him, that the only wonder is that some fragment of an English Life of the saint has not yet been publicly noticed. Here again contemporary bindings are sure to yield the necessary evidence, when the time comes.

42 *Sermones tredecim.*

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 179 | 1 sermones xiii ligati in corio. | 8 ^d . |
| 232 | 1 sermones xiii ligati in corio | } 9 ^d . |
| 233 | 1 bene fundatum | |
| 837 | 1 sermones xiii parue li' in pergameno. | 8 ^d . |
| 876 | 1 sermones xiii li' in corio | } 1 ^s 4 ^d . |
| 877 | 1 sermones quintini li' in percomeno | |
| 1886 | sermones xiii 3 quilibet | 1 ^s 4 ^d . |

These seem to be the *Sermones tredecim universales* of Michael de Hungaria, which were very popular at one time; so much so that seven editions are mentioned printed by John de Westfalia alone at Louvain (CA. 1244-45-47-48-49-50-51). The one in Hunt's list (1886), being double the price of Dorne's, may point to the fact of its being an old book which brought a higher price when in fuller run of popularity.

43 *Speculum.*

- 1899 Quinque specula 2 quilibet 3^s 4^d.

Two editions of the five Specula printed at Louvain by Joh. de Westfalia are described by Campbell (CA. 391 and 392), but unfortunately, from want of proper discrimination, both are described as printed about 1483; whereas one of them (392) cannot be later than 1483, and the other, placed first (391), cannot possibly be earlier than 1483. CA. 392 then is almost certainly the book referred to in Hunt's list of 1483. The book consists of five separable parts, though the signatures run through the whole. The five parts are as follows:

- (1) *Speculum de confessione*, with printer's name (sig. a—d).
- (2) *Speculum aureum anime peccatricis*, with printer's name (sig. e—f).
- (3) *Tractatus artis bene moriendi* and *Speculum ecclesie* (sig. g and h). The *Speculum sacerdotum* is merely a few paragraphs at the end of the *Speculum ecclesie* in most of the editions; whence the *Speculum ecclesie* itself sometimes gets erroneously the name of *Speculum sacerdotum*, as for instance in CA. 1007.
- (4) *Speculum humane vite*, with printer's name (sig. i—u).
- (5) *Speculum conversionis peccatorum*, with printer's name (sig. x—y).

You have one of the editions in your Auctarium, marked IQ. 4. 12, but I took no note at the time when I saw it, which of the two editions it was. The earlier one has no hyphens dividing the words at the end of a line, the other has.

44 *Sphaera*.

1626	1 Spera parua	} non recepi a mocke	} 1 ^s .
1627	1 Spera heginy [?]		

The second book can hardly fail to be a copy of the *Poeticon Astronomicon* of Hyginus (see Hain 9061—9067). Of these editions n° 9063 (Venice, E. Ratdolt, Jan. 22, 1485, 56 leaves, 4°.) contains the title 'Scemmus sphæracina secundum Hyginii descriptionem'; and n° 9065 (Venice, Th. de Blavis de Alexandria, June 7, 1488, 56 leaves, 4°.) has the title 'Scemma sphericum secundum Hyginij descriptionem.'

45 *Summa angelica*.

768	1 Suma angelica rowan ligata.	1 ^s 8 ^d .
1488	1 Suma angelica rowan ligata.	1 ^s 8 ^d .
1683	1 Suma angelica lion ligata.	2 ^s .

This is the great *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, known as the *Summa Angelica* long before the death of the author (in 1495), Angelus à Clavasio, a well known Franciscan. Hain mentions 21 editions of the book, though some of them are apparently doubtful. The one printed at Alost by Thierry Martens (CA. 448) consists of 334 leaves of close print in double columns. That its popularity extended well into the sixteenth century, so that editions may well have appeared at Lyons and Rouen as above, may be inferred from the fact that Wadding mentions an Italian version of the work published in 1593 (Scriptores Ord. Min. p. 22).

46 *Theologia naturalis*.

- 729 1 textus sententiarum li' in 2^{bus} li' in asse[*ribus*]}
 730 1 theologia naturalis li' in ass[*eribus* ?]} 3^s.
 829 1 theologia naturalis li[*gata*]. 1^s 4^d.

Theologia naturalis is the entire title as printed on the last page of the *Theologia naturalis* of Raimundus de Sabunde printed at Deventer by Ric. Paffroed about 1480, F^o. 256 leaves. Hain gives two other editions, and from the price I should infer that there may have been others more compressed. You have two copies of the Deventer edition, one among Mr Douce's xvth century books (n^o 158), and one in the Auctarium, marked 1Q. 3. 15.

47 *Theorica*.

- 1729 1 theorica planetarum. 1^s 6^d.

Hain gives a *Theorica Planetarum* under Gerardus Cremonensis (5824-25) and a *Theoricae Planetarum* under Georgius Purbachius (13595-97). The latter were published with the *Sphaericum Opusculum* of Joannes de Sacro Busto by Joannes Regiomontanus or de Monte Regio as antidotes to the 'deliramenta' of Gerardus Cremonensis. There was an ever increasing vitality in this class of literature for a long time, and it ought not to be difficult, with a little research, to go far towards identifying the book which appears in Dorne's list.

48 *Thomas Wallensis*.

- 1893 Walensis super psalterium. 1. 5^s 4^d.

There can be little doubt that this is the book which was printed in London by John Lettou in 1481, F^o. You have a copy in your Auctarium, marked 1Q. 4. 12, to which Herbert refers under its old mark before the creation of the Auctarium. It is printed from an incomplete copy, and from the words of the imprint 'Reuerendissimi domini Valēcii,' the final *s* having been misread as an *i*, the work has been confounded with the commentary of Jacobus Perez de Valencia (in Spain), which was printed at that place in 1484 and 1493 (12597-98) according to Hain, who also includes Thomas Wallensis by mistake under the same heading (12596). The V for W and the absence of the Christian name would also serve to create the confusion or at any rate to perpetuate it.

49 *Virgilius Maro (Publius)*.

- 1078 1 virgilius in englis van 4 quaterni. 2^d.

You will readily withdraw your identification of this with Caxton's edition of the *Eneydos*, which consists of 11 (not 4)

quires, and could not well have been sold for 2^d. The actual book is no doubt the "Virgilius" printed at Antwerp by John Doesborcke in 4^o., which does in fact consist of 30 leaves, and therefore (I presume) of 4 quires (van 4 quaterni). You have a copy in the Douce collection; which is placed by mistake among his xvth century books (n^o 40), so that you can see and judge for yourself. We have a fragment of it, which I rescued from the binding of an old medical book. The date generally assigned to it is about 1520. The price is quite suitable when compared with Dorne's prices generally. Hazlitt, who refers to the Douce copy, gives the title thus: "This boke treateth of the lyfe of Virgilius and of his deth, and many maruayles that he dyd in hys lyfe tyme by whychrafte and nygramancey thorough the helpe of the deuyls of Hell."

50 *Miscellaneous titles:*

Tractatus sacer de^{is} [?].

817	1	parochiale cura[<i>torum</i>]	} . 1 ^s 2 ^d .
818	1	tractatus sacer de ^{is}	

This latter entry (818) looks as if it ought to be read *Tractatus sacerdotalis*; and, though I cannot advance the matter very far, it is as well to refer to C.A. 1679, where a "Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis deque divinis officiis" is cited from the Lammens Catalogue, Vol. 1, n^o 39 (2), as bound up with a copy of Boethius printed at Louvain by Joh. de Westfalia (1486?).

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and the *Speculum ecclesiae*, the *Speculum humanae vitae*,
and the *Speculum conversionis peccatorum*, 43.

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See Dionysius de Leeuwis alias Rykel Carthusianus.

Dionysius de Leeuwis alias Rykel Carthusianus.

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The life of S^t Erasmus, 7.

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Grosseteste (Robert), Bp of Lincoln.

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Hawking.

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Virgilius Maro (Publius).

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Collation.

A⁴; 4 leaves (1—4).

abcd⁶e⁴; 28 leaves (5—32).

[The notes here printed as an Appendix were intended to be a continuation of the paper 'on the oldest written remains of the Welsh language', No. XV in the present volume. Mr Bradshaw has left several copies of a revise in pages, dated 1877; and on these he made a few corrections at least as late as 1882. The footnote on page 463 and some other additions (which are marked where they occur) were found in manuscript. Incomplete as the paper undoubtedly is, I feel sure that it will be read with interest as an example of the way in which Mr Bradshaw worked, and especially as throwing light upon the conclusions formulated in the letter to Dr Wasserschleben (No. XXIII in this volume) pages 415—419. There still remains a fragment (amounting to nearly 60 folio pages of MS.) of his more detailed work upon the same subject begun in April, 1885, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be printed. J.]

APPENDIX :

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF INVESTIGATIONS AMONG
EARLY WELSH, BRETON, AND CORNISH MANU-
SCRIPTS, 1872-77.

I HAVE left the preceding remarks, as they were read to the Society. Some time elapsed after I had made my attack upon the Parker collection and discovered my treasure (August 25, 1870), before I was able to begin (October 21, 1871) a systematic examination of it. But when Mr Stokes came to Cambridge in January, 1872, he was well pleased to be able, with my transcript in his hand to spare him needless waste of time, to go through the MS. line by line with his own eyes; a search which enabled him to make more than one addition to the number of the glosses which I had already found in the MS. His leisure hours on his voyage back to India were spent in writing a commentary on these results. This he printed on his arrival in India, and it has since been reprinted both in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (4th Series, Vol. IV), and in the *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung* (Vol. VII, p. 385). I should mention that I was at first inclined to think that the Martianus Capella glosses might be of the VIIIth century; they resemble most closely those of the *Liber Commonei* and of the B-hand in the Juvencus, both noticed below. What they brought to my mind at the first glance, was the writing of the early glosses on the *Lorica* of Gildas in the Book of Cerne (University Library MS. Ll. 1. 10), which I then believed to belong to the VIIIth century. Further experience has shown

me that this last MS. cannot safely be assigned to an earlier date than the ixth century. Some of the Martianus Capella glosses may be later than others, but for the bulk of them I am still of my first opinion that they are 'apparently as early as any remains of the Welsh language known to be in existence.'

Meantime, the experience I had gone through in working with Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica* had forced me to consider certain matters. It was quite clear that in examining the MSS. which form the basis of his operations, Zeuss had misread some things, and had been forced to leave others unread. This had also been the case with other philologists, from Lhuyd's time downwards. I felt it would be a clear gain to the philologists, and so indirectly to others also, if the whole range of these MSS. could be submitted to a careful examination from a palæographical point of view; that there might be some tolerable certainty as to what actual words were under discussion, and what date and mutual relationship might safely be assigned to the various MSS. So I set myself to work with such very limited leisure as was at my disposal; and the investigation has been so much more fruitful of results than I could possibly have expected, that I have little scruple in adding to this paper some account of how I pursued the investigations, and what store of facts I have succeeded in harvesting, in the hopes that some one else may feel stirred to adopt a similar method in gathering together the fragmentary remains of other early literatures. I have said above that the earliest book in Welsh was written in the latter part of the xiiith century. The earliest in Irish was written at the close of the xith century. The earliest in Anglo-Saxon (several still exist) go back to the last decade of the ixth century. It surely would not be an endless task to gather together for each of these languages all the fragments, whether sentences, words, or even names, which we can be certain were actually written down before these dates.

The copy of Juvencus marked Ff. 4. 42 in our own University Library has been an object of study to me for the last eighteen years, and I have worked at it at intervals with such

minuteness that I may fairly say that the various handwritings which appear in it are as familiar to me as those of the closest friends. In the autumn of 1871, just after reading this paper to the Society, I again subjected it to a thorough examination, and having settled in a self-evident manner¹ the necessary sequence of the various hands, I copied out my results in order. The original scribe of the MS. with his subscription in Welsh may be called A. The writer of seven glosses on the third and fourth leaves of the book, will be B. The writer of the Latin verses addressed to Fethgna and of the two little poems in triplets, of which so much has been said and written, C. The writer of the singular Latin rhythm, which reminds one of the strange Latin mixed up with some of the Welsh poems in the Book of Taliessin, will be D. E will be the writer of some Latin grammatical matter on the preliminary leaf, which has a little Welsh mixed with it, as well as of some glosses in the earlier part of the volume (leaves 2^a—6^b, and 15^a). F contributes eight glosses and a few strange *Hesperic* words (leaves 24^a—53^a), written in very clumsy roughly formed letters. G does not appear till the seventh leaf, but continues to the end, and contributes over 120 Welsh glosses. The little poems in handwriting C, and the glosses in the other various hands, were published with a commentary (without however any attempt to throw them into separate groups) by Mr Whitley Stokes, in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1861, and in the *Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachforschung*, Vol. iv, p. 385.

Early in 1872 an appeal to Mr Coxe met with a ready response; and he most generously recommended the Curators to the Bodleian Library to authorise him to lend me the priceless MS. in the *Auctarium* marked F. 4. 32, the *Codex Oxoniensis prior* of Zeuss, and familiar to most visitors to that Library from the picture of Our Lord and St Dunstan, which occupies the first page. Working night after night at this MS. for some two months, I necessarily gained a considerable familiarity with

¹ Where one writer cannot write his gloss precisely where it ought to stand because one of his predecessors has preoccupied the ground, there can be

little doubt of the sequence. When this happens over and over again there can be no doubt.

its contents; and the several pieces of which it had been made up, and the several handwritings apparent in each, revealed themselves without much difficulty. The volume contains four wholly separate pieces, each consisting only of one quire. We learn from Mr Macray's *Annals*, that it was given to the Bodleian Library in 1601 by Thomas Allen, whose signature appears on the first page. It was at Glastonbury when Leland visited the place in the first half of the xvth century. It was also there when the library was catalogued in the latter half of the xiiith century. The second piece in the volume is an Anglo-Saxon homily, which must have been added in the xith century. There is also additional matter in all the other pieces in English writing of the same century. But the first, third, and fourth pieces are unquestionably of British origin; and the drawing on the first page renders it almost certain that the volume, as it then stood, passed out of British into Saxon hands in the xth century during St Dunstan's life-time, when the old animosity had given way to a much more friendly feeling between the two races. The first is the Eutychius; the third is the *Liber Commonei* (to give it a short name); and the fourth is the Ovid.

The *Liber Commonei*, which is apparently the nucleus of the whole volume, is a medley containing the *Excerpta de mensuris calculi* and other *excerpta* of various kinds for practical use (amongst these a copy of the 19-year cycle 817—835), as well as the alphabet of Nemnius, and extracts from Scripture (partly in Greek and Latin with the Greek in Greek characters, partly in Latin and Greek with the Greek in Latin characters), all written by the scribe for one Commoneus, who was at once his father and his teacher. There are perhaps traces of the father's writing among the corrections. There are a few Welsh glosses, and several notes in mixed Latin and Welsh, bringing to mind the bilingual character of the early Irish Chronicles. The old Hiberno-Saxon character of the writing fully prepares one to accept as a fact, what is almost certainly shown by the presence of the single 19-year cycle, that the book was written about 820. It therefore becomes a standard by which to measure everything else. The nearest

approach to the writing elsewhere is that of the text (A) of the Juvenecus, and that of the deed of gift (B) of the Gospel of Teliau now at Lichfield.

The Ovid (*De arte amandi liber primus*), at the end of the volume, is in a later Hiberno-Saxon hand much resembling the Gospel of Deer, and still more closely a much later MS. of St Augustine *de Trinitate* noticed below and written apparently in the monastery of St Paternus in Cardiganshire. Most of the glosses are of the time of the original writing; some few seem later; but nothing can well have been added after the book passed into Saxon hands in the latter half of the xth century.

The Eutychiuss (*de conjugationibus verborum*), at the beginning of the volume, presents a totally different appearance. There is no trace of the Hiberno-Saxon character in the writing, which resembles the Caroline minuscule found in French MSS. of the ixth or ix-xth century. This of course struck me at once; and very soon, on working upon the glosses (which are in the same handwriting), I noticed that, in several cases, where Zeuss gives parallel forms as existing on one side in Welsh, and on the other in Cornish and Breton, the Eutychiuss, which was undoubtedly continental in style of writing, and the Luxemburg fragment, which I had never seen, but assumed to be so from its present home, agreed together in presenting the Cornish and Breton forms as against all the other known early MSS., which presented the Welsh forms¹. I drew the attention of my philological friends to this point; but as Zeuss had accepted them both as Welsh without hesitation, and as nothing of really Old Cornish or Old Breton was known to test them by, judgment has hitherto been suspended, and I remained content to work on, waiting for further light.

As might have been expected, new words came to light, glosses were put to their right words, and doubtful readings were cleared up in these books in the course of such a close examination. These results have been for the most part published, and commented on by Mr Stokes. Before the volume went back to Oxford, I had several pages photographed, eight of the *Liber Commonei*, three of the Ovid, and four of the Eutychiuss;

¹ [See note, p. 488. J.]

and these have served to keep the characteristics of the several handwritings well in my mind. In the Eutychius one of the photographs brought out clearly some erased words, which I had in vain tried to read with a strong magnifying glass.

Shortly after this, in June 1872, I went to Lichfield in the hope of getting some more accurate information, than was then to be had in print, about the contents of the Gospel of Teliau, now commonly known as the Book of St Chad¹. Its contents had been described with fair accuracy by Wanley in his *Catalogus*; and his reading of the entries had been reproduced, with the addition of an extremely unsatisfactory lithographic facsimile of some of them, by Mr Rees in his addition of the *Liber Landavensis* (8vo. Llandover, 1840). Unfortunately neither Zeuss nor Stokes had had the opportunity of consulting the MS.; so that its contents had been practically neglected in recent times. The Dean and Chapter, thanks to the kind offices of one of their number, Mr Lonsdale, whose hospitable welcome both then and afterwards I cannot easily forget, readily allowed me to carry this treasure away to Cambridge for three months, in order that I might have time to get the same leisurely and intimate acquaintance with its contents that I had already got with those manuscripts which I have noticed above.

Before I had had the book many minutes in my hands I discovered at the top of the blackened page which has for more than a thousand years formed the first page of the volume, the signature of one ‘+ þynsige presul’, which instantly afforded me the desired solution of the difficulties which had presented themselves to previous investigators concerning the transfer of the book from Llandaff to Lichfield.

On the one hand, the ‘Textus euangelii sancti Cedde’ in a handwriting of the XIIIth century proves that the book belonged to St Chad’s Church at Lichfield at that period. The

¹ While at Llandaff the book was known as *Evangelium Sancti Teliaui*, which merely means that it belonged to the Cathedral Church of Llandaff. The XIIIth century entry on what is now the first page, ‘Textus euangelii

sancti Cedde’ merely implies in the same way that the book belongs to the Cathedral Church of Lichfield. A whole legend has arisen from misunderstanding this simple and ordinary entry.

Anglo-Saxon entry about the clearance of Godwine from the charge brought against him by Bishop Leofgar shows that it was at Lichfield about 1020. The entries of Anglo-Saxon names on the last page of St Matthew in a handwriting which cannot well be earlier than the beginning of the xth century, show that the book was in Saxon hands then. The signature I have noticed above ‘+ ƿynsige presul’ would lead one to believe that it was in the hands of one who can hardly be any other than Wynsige, Bishop of Lichfield in the latter half of the xth century, whose signatures to charters are found ranging from 964 to 973. On the other hand, every other remaining entry in the book is purely Welsh, from the deed of gift by which the book was presented to the Church of Teliau (now known as Llandaff), to the charters, boundaries, and signatures, which are scattered through the book.

Here then is another case of a Welsh book passing out of British into Saxon hands in the latter part of the xth century, when, as I have said above, the intercourse between the two nations was on such a much more friendly footing than it had previously been. In this way the Welsh history of the book and its various entries is made very much clearer for us. For the text of the Gospel, it is impossible to fix a date until the whole body of Hiberno-Saxon MSS. in this large character have been more thoroughly investigated, and the results made known. I may perhaps suggest that the use of *Finit* rather than *Explicit* at the end of St Matthew points rather to a Celtic (Irish or Welsh) than to an Anglo-Saxon origin. The arrangement of the quires would also have afforded some clue to the school of writing to which it belonged: but, most unfortunately, the book was some years ago put into the hands of ‘the first London binder of the day,’ Mr F. Bedford, who at once (after his manner) cut the book up into a series of single leaves, ruthlessly removing any portions of leaves which might perhaps not look pretty, but which had a story to tell nevertheless to any one conversant with such matters; so that all evidence of origin from this source has been recklessly destroyed.

Calling then the handwriting of the text A, that of the record of the gift of the book by Gelhi son of Arihtiud, may

be called B. This closely resembles the character of the *Liber Commonei*, and may therefore fairly be assigned to the early part of the IXth century. Next come two charters of Ris in a handwriting C; and the manumission of Bleidiud, written by Sulgen, the *scolasticus*, whose letter will be D. These two hands resemble one another much; they are both of a well-formed Hiberno-Saxon character. In C one of the witnesses called Nobis is among the *clerici*, and follows Saturnguid, who is also a *clericus*. In D both are witnesses, but Nobis has become *Episcopus Teiliau*, and therefore takes precedence of Saturnguid, who is called *Sacerdos Teiliau*. Whether this Nobis is identical with the Nobis, Bishop of Llandaff, in the *Liber Landavensis*, with the Nobis *episcopus* who reigned in Miniu according to the Annals in the Harleian *Historia Britonum* (Harl. MS. 3859), and with the Nobis *episcopus*, who is described in the so-called Asser as the writer's *propinquus*, and all of whom belong to the middle of the IXth century, has yet to be proved. The handwritings of the documents in the Gospel-book at Lichfield may be reasonably attributed to that date. I am inclined to place next, under the letter E, a short note of a gift by one Mormarh, entered at the end of St Mark. To a scribe F I should attribute a boundary which is entered at the foot of the last two pages of St Mark. Under G I should place a document entered at the end of St Matthew, immediately under the original deed of gift, and beginning 'Surexit tutbule filius liuit...' in mixed Welsh and Latin. These last three seem all to belong to the Xth century. Besides all these, I should group together under H a large number of signatures, chiefly running in pairs, which are scattered throughout the volume, and of which the dates may fairly be said to range all through the century and a half during which the book remained at Llandaff. I must mention one, because it affords a curious piece of evidence of the early mutilation of the volume. The manumission of Bleidiud (handwriting D) is written on the margin of the page containing the symbol-picture of St Luke which was meant to face the illuminated commencement of his Gospel. Between these two pages now stands a leaf containing, on the *recto*, a drawing in four com-

partments, with the symbols of the four Evangelists, and on the *verso* the marvellous interlaced cross which has been more than once reproduced in facsimile. Now this leaf was evidently intended to be the first leaf of the whole volume. The cross would occupy the *recto* and form the outside; the symbols of the four Evangelists would occupy the *verso*, and so face the 'Liber generationis...' which, with the rest of the genealogy, is in this school of MSS. treated as a prologue to the whole four Gospels, while St Matthew is made to begin with an illuminated initial and border, facing a symbol-picture of the Evangelist, with the words 'Christi autem generatio...' When the fourth leaf (forming the second half of the outer sheet of the preliminary quire and containing the end of the genealogy or prologue on the *recto*, and the picture of St Matthew on the *verso*) was lost, the first leaf of course became loose, and was afterwards fastened in, *inside out*, at the commencement of St Luke. That this took place at a very early time we have almost certain evidence in the fact that the signature of Saturnbiu cam ibiau, one of the witnesses to the manumission of Bleidiud, occurs on this very inserted misplaced leaf, opposite to the document which he attests. Before returning the book I had fourteen of its pages photographed.

The notice of this volume may seem out of all proportion to the amount of matter which it contributes to our purpose. But though the amount of Welsh words here found is scanty, the book is of very great value from the opportunity it affords for the study of various handwritings which yet can only range through a century and a half. As a starting point for fresh investigations it is a matter of necessity to get a thorough familiarity with the habits of writing found in a few such manuscripts. It is only when any one has made a daily study of such books for many months together, and has become (so to say) thoroughly soaked with their characteristics, that he can hope to gain that instinct which is of such infinite value afterwards, when fresh books come under his eye, and resemblances and relationships of handwriting and style are forced upon him in a way which could never result from a more casual and less intimate acquaintance.

Just at this time (in the summer of 1872) Mr Rhys published in the *Revue Celtique* (tome 1, p. 346) his account of the *Folium Luxemburgense*, which Mone had discovered in 1851, used as the fly-leaf at the end of a MS. in the library at Luxemburg. Mr Rhys based his account upon a careful re-examination of the MS. made on the spot, and upon a lithographic facsimile of the whole sheet of two leaves which had been published in the XIVth volume of the *Mémoires* of the Historical Section of the Luxemburg Institute. He was thus able to supplement and correct Zeuss in many points; and he added a careful commentary of his own. This lithographed facsimile Mr Rhys was good enough to lend to me, and it opened up altogether a fresh line of investigation. The phrase *Glossae collectae*, which I had suggested to Mr Rhys for the Luxemburg Glosses, I had learnt from the Parker MS. of Martianus Capella. At the end of the text in that MS. follows a piece headed 'Incipiunt glossae collectae,' which I found to be simply a collection of glossed words from another copy. The writer having access to a second glossed copy was naturally anxious (dictionaries being scarce and almost unknown in those days) to get the benefit of it. He had no room to incorporate them into his own copy which was already fully glossed; so he goes straight through his neighbour's copy and takes down in order all the words which have any glosses, and writes their glosses over them or after them. This would of course be very useful to any one who had a copy of the book by him, and was reading it through steadily; but it is easy to see what a hopeless maze it must appear to any one who lights upon the book without any clue to what is intended. Now the lithograph showed the fragment to be a sheet of which the two leaves were not consecutive; and, with the clue afforded by the Martianus Capella, it was probable that the sheet formed part of a quire near the end of a volume, and that the semi-rhythmical matter contained on one of the leaves formed the latter part of a text, and that the *glossae collectae* had been written in by the scribe at the end of his volume. What therefore Mr Rhys calls leaf 1 should be leaf 2, and vice versa. It took some little time to master the rhythm of the lines occu-

pying the first leaf, and to see that each line formed a sentence, and that a sort of assonance was effected by an adjective and substantive, one of which might be said to form the middle of the line, while the other came at the end. But I had never seen any such production before, and I was very much dissatisfied at not being able to find a name for the work.

Some time afterwards, in looking through Migne's *Patrologia* for some treatise *de ponderibus et mensuris*, which might lead to a better understanding of the *Excerpta de mensuris calculi* in the Oxford *Liber Commonei*, I stumbled, among the *Opera spuria* at the end of Bede's works, upon a piece entitled '*Hisperica Famina*' reprinted from Mai's fifth volume of *Auctores Classici* from Vatican manuscripts. I hoped here to have found the solution of all my difficulties. Here was a long piece entirely written in this assonant rhythm¹, though printed by Mai as prose. It came from one of Queen Christina's Manuscripts, obtained from Petavius, and therefore probably written in France and perhaps in Brittany. I instantly copied out Mai's transcript, which came to something over 600 lines; and though neither the leaf of text nor the words in the *Glossae collectae* of the Luxemburg MS. were to be found in

¹ A short quotation will give a better idea of the rhythm of the work than any explanation. Chapter 2 (Lex diei) of the Vatican text begins with a description of sunrise and its effects, in which the following lines (138—144) occur:

Cibonea: pliadam non exomicant fulgora:
merseum solifluus: eruit naevum tractus;
densos phetoneum: extricat sudos incendium;
roscida: aret rubigine stillieidia;
nec olivatus frondea: olivat nimbus robora;
faenosas: dividuat imber uvas;
micras uvicomus: apricat lacunas rogus.

I have here only so far departed from Mai's edition as to print the matter in lines, and to insert a colon, or middle point, after the adjective which forms the assonance with the substantive at the end of the line. It will be seen that each line forms a sentence; and this clue once obtained, the whole work becomes far less unintelligible

than it otherwise would be. *Glossae collectae* belonging to such a text may well distract a man who expects to find continuous matter; and Mr Rhys must be forgiven for speaking of the text of the Luxemburg fragment as 'a kind of rhythmic twaddle about astronomy and the prophet in the lion's den'. [MS. note.]

the Vatican text, yet no doubt was left on my mind that they proceeded from the same school, if not from the very same author. The large amount of text thus recovered, and the frequent occurrence of the same Hesperic words made it very much easier to give a meaning to them than had been at all possible before¹.

This was still occupying my attention, when something led me (Feb. 10, 1874) to follow up a suggestion made by Mr Haddan with reference to the Parker copy of St Augustine *De Trinitate* (Corpus Christi College, MS. 199), written by Johannes, the son of Sulgen and brother of Ricemarch, who were both Bishops of St David's in the latter part of the xith century. The long poem (at the end of the volume) printed by Mr Haddan (*Councils*, i. 663) contains one or two Hesperic words, explained at once by the *Hesperica Famina*; but I

¹ I did not then realise the full force implied in the phrase 'one of Queen Christina's manuscripts obtained from Petavius.' I merely meant that manuscripts obtained in France would be more likely to come from Brittany than from Wales. The discovery of the mass of Old Breton glosses in the Orleans copy of the *Collectio Canonum* coming upon the knowledge of the other glossed copies of the same work, all noticed below, led me to note the history of the library of Fleury on the Loire, as traced by Septier in his Catalogue of the Orleans MSS. When the monastery was sacked by the Calvinists in the sixteenth century, the bulk of the Manuscripts fell into the hands of the Orleans lawyer, Pierre Daniel, who was connected with the abbey. On his death his collection was bought and divided between them, by two citizens of Orleans, Jacques Bongars and Paul Petau. Bongars' MSS. went to the Elector Palatine's library, from which they were transferred to the Vatican, where they remained until

restored to Heidelberg in quite recent times. The MSS. of Paul Petau were inherited by his son Alexander, who sold them to Queen Christina, from whom they passed to Pope Alexander VIII., who deposited them in the Vatican. Such as remained at Fleury were either lent on long loan to St Germain, and may be now looked for in Paris, or were transferred at the revolution to the Public Library at Orleans. Now that we have learnt that various manuscripts, which from their containing vernacular glosses must have been written in Brittany before the xith century, found their way to Corbie, Fécamp, Fleury, and other great monasteries after the decay of learning in Celtic Brittany, it is easy to see how the Vatican *Hesperica Famina* may probably have come from Fleury, and have found its way thither from Brittany in company with the Fleury copy of the *Collectio Canonum* now at Orleans, and perhaps many other manuscripts which are only now unknown because they have not been looked for. [MS. note.]

was still more anxious to see for myself what Mr Haddan calls 'a few words in old Welsh' (*Councils*, i. 667). At the beginning are some introductory verses, and all through the volume there are invocations at the top of the pages, mostly where a fresh book begins. Sometimes they are addressed to God, once to St David, and once to St Paternus, to aid and encourage the scribe in continuing his work. These mostly have JO. (the scribe's name) prefixed. But in one case is a Welsh quatrain (without the JO.), docked by the binder of part of its last line, but much resembling some lines in the Gododin, though not identical. Except the two poems in the Juvenus MS., it is the only scrap of verse written down before the XIIIth century, as yet discovered, and so is most precious; especially as we can date it almost to a certainty, seeing it must have been written down some time between 1080 and 1090. It is in this scrap that the letter y first appears in Welsh, a letter which forms such a prominent feature in all later Welsh writing. I sent the quatrain at once to the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, and it has been printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (IVth Series, Vol. 5); but no one seems to have ventured upon a satisfactory version of it.

One step leads to another, and this work upon Sulgen and his sons led me to go up to London and examine the Cotton MS. Faustina C. 1 in the British Museum, to which Professor Westwood long ago drew attention as containing some verses by Ricemarch, Bishop of St David's and brother of the Johannes just mentioned. The volume contains three pieces put together by Sir Robert Cotton; but the middle piece is a copy of the *Somnium Scipionis* with a brief Chronology from Bede at the end, and this Lament of Ricemarch at the beginning. I could trace no vernacular glosses among the crowd of notes upon the text; indeed the Latin learning of Sulgen's sons may be supposed to have passed beyond the stage which needs such help; but the handwriting of the MS. is in itself a study, from the sample it affords of a Celtic hand in process of being modified strongly by Anglo-Norman influences, while yet retaining many of its Celtic or Hiberno-Saxon characteristics. The Lament itself I have had copied in autotype; and I hope to print it

with other Latin texts of Celtic origin. It affords such a melancholy picture of the state of the country just after the Norman invasion, that I feel sure Mr Haddan would have printed it, if the MS. had not been overlooked.

An examination made at the same time into the Harleian *Historia Britonum* (Harl. MS. 3859) brought a number of most interesting points to light. It is an acknowledged fact, that the *Historia Britonum* went through several recensions from the latter part of the viith to the latter part of the xth century; and that one of these bears the name of Nemnius (or Nennius), and another that of Marcus Anachoreta, &c. But even in spite of Mr Skene's excellent anatomy of the work in the third chapter of his 'Four Ancient Books of Wales,' much remains to be done before the various accretions to the original nucleus of the History can be put upon their proper footing. The Harleian MS. is not of the xth century at all; but is, I should say, an Anglo-Norman transcript made at the close of the xith century from a copy written in Wales in the xth century. For the additional matter not found elsewhere, and for the large number of native words and proper names, it is simply invaluable, in spite of, and indeed partly owing to, the ignorance exhibited by the scribe where Welsh words are concerned. The genealogies are a perfect storehouse of names in their old forms; and when once Welsh scholars have grasped the fact that the great turning point in Welsh authorities is to be found in the *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and in the *Liber Landavensis*, both of which first saw the light in the third decade of the xiith century, one of the most fruitful ages of inventive genius which the world has seen; then these earlier fragments will be gathered together and studied with more reverence, and will not be mixed up with later and worthless productions of periods when little but imagination was left to draw upon for historical facts and family history. The so-called *Annales Cambriæ*, which form an integral part of the *Historia Britonum* in the Harleian MS., appear to me to be beyond a doubt a transcript (probably a copy of a transcript) of one of those books, of which we have a specimen in our University Library (MS. Kk. 5. 32), consisting of a set of 28

19-year cycles, each one occupying a page, and the whole making up a great or 532-year cycle. The events are recorded in brief on one or other margin, as the year fell into one or another great cycle; so that one little book would extend to 1064 years without any difficulty. In transcribing such a book into a continuous form, so as not to keep a 19-year cycle to a page, the copyist has numbered the years by tens instead of by nineteens. From this point of view it ceases to be an arbitrary selection of years, and certain discrepancies and difficulties become open to a more rational solution. But this is not the place to go into such questions. I copied out the whole of the *Annales* and the Welsh Genealogies, which also are not appended to, but form an integral portion of, this recension of the *Historia*; but the whole volume ought to be photographed.

In connexion with this, the problem of what is known as Asser's Life of Alfred came up. The whole question has to be patiently investigated; and the seven remaining leaves of the burnt Cotton MS. Otho A. XII have to be made to yield up what evidence they are capable of giving. Wherever any vernacular words occur, they are of such unmistakeable purity, that it is an absolute impossibility that the work can be a forgery of the XIIth century, as some have wished to make out. The gleanings, in the matter of Old Welsh words or points of history, are scanty: I have them all copied out and indexed. But they are enough to stir up any one to devote more well-directed efforts towards solving the problem, than have as yet been made.

So far my investigations into remains of the language and literature of Wales proper had been fruitful of many unexpected results; but there did not seem to be much chance of bringing to a decision the question which had remained standing over as to the Continental origin of two at least of the manuscripts noticed above. But at Easter 1875 I took the opportunity of returning from the north of Italy by way of Luxemburg, in order that I might see the fragment there with my own eyes, and also ascertain from what book Mone had detached it. This the Librarian, M. Schoetter, who gave me every facility which my hurried visit allowed, told me was a

hopeless task, as no record had been kept, and it was now impossible to find out. However, the good luck which has more than once attended me in such searches, where trained instinct has been the chief guide, did not fail me here; and the very first volume which I took down from the shelves, proved to be the very one whose binding had supplied the precious fragments. It was a ixth or ixth-xth century copy of St Augustine on the Psalter, formerly belonging, as did the bulk of the Luxemburg manuscripts, to the monastery of Echternach or Epternach, founded by St Wilbrord at the end of the viiith century. The waste leaf from the other end of the same volume I found, to my surprise and delight, to be another sheet from the same MS. of *Hisperica Famina*, not reading on, but nevertheless clearly preceding the sheet printed by Mr Rhys. The two are now together called MS. 89. It was worth going to see with one's own eyes, to have obtained such eminently satisfactory results. When I returned to Cambridge, I asked leave to borrow the fragments, and the Librarian, with kindness which I cannot sufficiently acknowledge, at once sent the MS., and allowed me to retain it as long as I liked. Before returning it, I had every page photographed. The new sheet confirmed what the one already known had led me to suspect. So far as the manuscript itself goes, it is an ignorant un-Celtic transcript of a mutilated or mis-bound original¹. So far as the

¹ These are hard words, but not at all exaggerated. I now see (what I did not see at first) that the Vatican copy of the *Hisperica Famina* probably came from Fleury and so eventually from Brittany; and an examination of the MS. would most likely confirm many of the conjectural emendations I have made upon the basis of the 'hurried transcript' published by Mai, who does not seem to have noticed the assonant rhythm which reveals the construction and so goes far to explain the difficulties of a text which without this clue would be hopeless to the last degree. The MS. itself is probably fairly correct, as such things go. But

the Luxemburg fragment must have formed part of a volume which was used at a very early period as waste for the binder at Epternach, as being useless and unintelligible. It was possibly transcribed there, from a copy obtained from its Celtic home, by one who knew little of what he was copying. Not only are there mistakes and alterations in the glosses, which could hardly have been made by one who knew the language; but in the continuous text I notice, even in the three remaining leaves, two instances of a Breton gloss incorporated by the copyist into the text of the line above. In one of these cases he writes (49, 50):

literature is concerned, it enables us to recover traces of three wholly different Hesperic renderings of a common original. In the Vatican text we have apparently the whole, disconnected as it sometimes seems to be, but falling easily into thirteen chapters. In the text preserved in the Luxemburg fragment we have portions of different chapters (1, 2, 3, 11, 12), going over the same ground, only in different language; while in the *Glossae collectae* it is not difficult to perceive that we are still on the same ground (Chapter 1), only that the Glosses are taken from a text which differs yet again from the other two. This is not the place for going into details on this matter. If I can ever see the Vatican MS., I hope to print all the texts together. But the free use of these Hesperic words, which are

Ob hoc egregium: rotulanti crepi-
tundo consultum luson;
Ut fulgescente: huius congelaminis di-
uiduauerit tramitem;

where the first line necessarily ends with 'consultum,' and 'luson' was evidently, in the copy before the scribe, a gloss over the word 'tramitem,' i.e. the tracks 'congelaminis' of the congregation. In the other case (134—136) we find:

Ac tempestiua: reprimit oceani di-
uortia;
glas ne tellatum: procellosis fluctibus
operiat tolum;
et glaucum mundiano: artauit limbum
tolo;

where in the same way 'glas' must have stood as a gloss over 'glaucum' in the copy before him. The whole piece is written as prose, the beginning of a line being denoted by a capital letter following a mark of punctuation. In another place the line occurs (124—125):

Que sermocinoso faminum uero nau-
siam choorti

which appeared to be beyond all remedy, till the Vatican version, though

wholly different in wording, led me to the happy conjecture that in the copy before the scribe a gap of several leaves must have occurred (either from mutilation or mis-binding) between 'faminum' at the end of one leaf and the incomplete word 'uero' at the beginning of another. The first three words are clearly the beginning of the last verse of Chapter 3 (De caelo), which would run something like this:

Quae sermocinoso: faminum [expli-
care non famulor turno;]

i.e. 'which I do not trouble myself now to explain with any eloquent display of words.' The last three words must be the end of the last line of Chapter 11 (De oratorio), which would possibly stand somehow thus:

[Ne huic fulgenti: suscita]uero nau-
siam choorti;

i.e. 'that I may not excite disgust in this brilliant assembly.' But besides these glaring instances, there are numberless cases in the few remaining leaves, which show that the scribe had very little notion of what his original meant. I fear most readers of the Vatican text would readily make allowance for his shortcomings.

found scattered by twos and threes in other Celtic documents, makes these *Hisperica Famina* a centre round which a number of difficult questions gather themselves, and to which they ought to aid some day in framing a solution.

Having exhausted nearly all available sources of Old Welsh, a re-reading of Mr Stokes's paper in the *Revue Celtique* (tome 1, p. 332) on the manumissions written on the margins of the Gospel of Petroc, and their value as a contribution to the study of Old Cornish writing, led me to go over to Oxford (March 3, 1876), to see, and if possible to borrow, the MS. marked Bodl. 572, the *Codex Oxoniensis posterior* of Zeuss, which I had always believed to be rather Cornish than Welsh. Again Mr Coxe's kindness allowed me to obtain the use of the MS. for several months. A first look at it before I brought it away enabled me to distinguish its six several component parts or *fasciculi*. The first four are British in origin; the fifth and sixth are purely French. The sixth is an extremely curious Latin sermon, full of interesting matter, and containing many strange words. The fifth is a Penitential, strongly resembling that of Cummeanus, printed by Wasserscheleben in his *Bussordnungen* (8vo. Halle, 1851), only with great variations in order, and some additional matter. Both these portions appear to be of the IXth century.

The fourth fasciculus is the one used by Zeuss, and printed in full by Stokes in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1861. It is a fragment with erased matter at both ends. The handwriting is most perplexing. It looks so thoroughly continental, and yet the glosses have some of them the distinctive Saxon letters. In any case it must belong to the Cornish-Breton rather than to the Welsh family.

The third piece is a copy of two treatises of St Augustine, made by one Bledian *notarius*; it is in Hiberno-Saxon writing with some foreign admixtures. At the end are some XIth century entries made after the whole Codex had passed into Saxon hands, and which ought not to be considered Cornish at all.

The second fasciculus contains an *Expositio Missae*, and a *Liber Thobiae* in different hands, but written together. Both are Celtic; the handwriting of the latter is a singular compound of Hiberno-Saxon strongly modified with continental

forms. It contains three Glosses¹ which escaped Zeuss, of which one attracted my particular notice as bearing marks of being what I should call Cornish-Breton as distinguished from Welsh, and again Cornish as distinguished from Breton.

The first piece in the volume is the imperfect *Missa* of St Germanus the *lumen et columna Cornubiae*, which has been printed more than once. I suppose it is Cornwall not Cornouaille, both of which bore the name *Cornubia* at this period.

I was just prepared to carry off my treasure from Oxford when Professor Stubbs brought me up a volume from the Hatton collection (MS. Hatton 42), which had belonged before the Reformation to Glastonbury Abbey, and which had only lately attracted his attention. It was a copy of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensium*, so mis-called from the fact, that a number of Irish canons are cited in the collection, and it was fated to lead me again into an entirely fresh field of investigation. The first thing that struck me in it, and which I remarked on the instant to Professor Stubbs, was the striking resemblance presented by a clumsy handwriting, of which a good deal appeared in corrections and additional matter throughout the book, to one of the hands in the Cambridge Juvenus. This led me at once to turn over the leaves on the chance of finding some glosses. The whole book is in continental handwriting, and almost immediately I came upon some thoroughly Breton names, Matguoret and Winniau (Uinniauu), and half a dozen glosses, in what I felt sure must be Old-Breton. Further on I found the scribe writing down some Hesperic words as a '*probatio pennae*' in the margin. When I returned to Cambridge I looked up the Juvenus handwriting which the Hatton MS. had called to my mind, and I found that it was that identical clumsy hand which I have above called F, and which has written down the Hesperic words in the margin of the Juvenus, and whose glosses differ from all the others in that volume as presenting, at least in one remarkable case, characteristic Cornish or Breton forms as distinguished from Welsh. If this be a mere accident, it is at least no wonder that I was struck by the

¹ I learn from Mr Stokes that these glosses were noticed, before I borrowed the book, by Mr Peter, of Bala, who communicated them to Mr Stokes.

fact; as it was solely the recollected resemblance of this handwriting which led me to look for glosses.

The very next week, having accidentally noticed that the affected use of the word *scrutari* for the simple *legere*, used by Bledian the Cornish scribe of part of MS. Bodl. 572, occurred also in the subscription to an Amalarius in the Parker collection at Corpus Christi College, written in the xth century for some brethren of St Winwaloë, I was induced to ask permission to look at the book. I found that it was written in 952 (not 902, as stated in Nasmith's Catalogue), and in continental handwriting. My search for vernacular glosses was rewarded in a very few minutes by finding some six or seven, certainly in some British dialect. Where could its original home have been, if not the monastery of St Winwaloë at Landevennech in Brittany? From faint indications, it seems to have belonged before the Reformation to Christ Church, Canterbury.

I then went to the British Museum and looked at the Gospel of Petroc, to see and learn what undoubted Cornish writing was like, that I might have some basis of comparison in investigating the four Cornish portions of MS. Bodl. 572, which I had just brought from Oxford. A purely French MS., so far as the text is concerned, the manumissions are most interesting. Mr Haddan (*Councils*, i. 682) has shown that they must needs range from about 940 to about 1020; just the time (be it observed) when this continental hand was coming into this country. A photograph copy of them all would enable one to trace its growth almost to a nicety; to study in one the writing of the Anglo-Saxon scribe, in another the Saxonising Cornish scribe, and so to bring out results which would be of much value for other and widely different subjects. Sooner or later this must be done.

Meantime I had procured Wasserschleben's edition of the *Collectio Canonum* (8vo. Giessen, 1874). Here I learnt that the citation from Winniau (Uuinniauu) which I had observed in the Hatton MS., was from a Penitential of his, of which copies were known to exist at St Gallen and at Vienna, and that it had been printed by Wasserschleben in his *Bussordnungen* (8vo. Halle, 1851). On turning to this book I found the same

style of language, the same *Finit* for *Explicit*, the same *scrutari* for *legere*, &c., and it seemed to connect itself at once with the *Collectio Canonum* and my newly found Brittany books in more ways than one. It seemed much more natural to look upon the name Winniau as akin to the *Ran Winiau* of the Redon Cartulary, and the *Sancte Guiniaue* of the Breton litany printed by Haddan (*Councils*, ii. 82), especially when taken in connexion with the terminations of names like Teliau, Ebiau, Peipiau, &c., occurring constantly in the British documents, than to treat it as a mis-written Irish name Finianus.

The whole aspect of the Canons, and of the MSS. said to contain them seemed to show a continental rather than an Irish origin. The glosses quoted by Wasserschleben, one from each of three MSS., as Irish, appeared to me clearly British and not Irish at all. Accordingly, finding that two of these MSS. were in Paris, I could not rest until I had verified the fact for myself. At Easter I went over to Paris. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* was closed, but through the kindness of M. Gaidoz I had the good fortune to meet M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, the prince of French Celtic scholars, who happened to be in Paris for a few days. With M. d'Arbois for my guide, M. Léopold Delisle opened to us the treasures of the Department of Manuscripts, and most kindly allowed us to examine at our leisure, at his house, the two manuscripts which I was so eager to see.

One of them (Lat. 12021) a ixth or ix-xth century MS. of the *Collectio Canonum*, and other kindred matter, came from Corbie in Picardy, and yielded about a dozen of what I have now no hesitation in calling Old-Breton glosses.

The other MS. (Lat. 3182) came from Fécamp, on the coast of Normandy. It is in an xith century handwriting, and is unique in preserving to us extracts from the Books of David and Gildas, as well as decisions of British Synods now otherwise lost, besides the *Collectio Canonum*, and other synodical matters. A search through this yielded but three glosses, enough, however, to show that it too had come from Brittany¹.

¹ Mr Haddan throws out a suggestion (*Councils*, i. 145) that this volume contains British documents which had been preserved in Brittany; but else-

where he seems to have lost hold of this clue, which would have guided him to other conclusions than those he has adopted.

The *Godofredus sacerdos*, who gave the book *Sanctæ Trinitati*, is of course the donor of the book to the Abbey of the Holy Trinity at Fécamp.

All these results seem to me to point to a time when there were schools of learning in Brittany, such as we read of in the lives of the Breton Saints, and that after the decay and extinction of these, many of their books passed into the hands of others who knew how to treat them with the reverence which they deserved.

From Paris I went on to Quimper (April 24, 1876) to see the xith century copy of Gurdestin's life of St Winwaloë, which commonly goes by the name of the Cartulary of Landevennech, from the fact of a few charters having been inserted at the end of the volume. Here M. Le Men, the archivist, and M. Derennes, the librarian, were all kindness. My hasty visit at least enabled me to see what a MS. looked like, which had been written in the house where I supposed the Cambridge Amalarius to have been copied a hundred years before. The signatures to the quires being in Greek numerals brought to mind the ΦΙΝΙΘ ΔΗΩ ΓΡΑΘΙΑC AMHN at the end of the Amalarius; while the drawing of a document of the year 954 there entered with all the details of indiction, epact, concurrentes, fourteenth day of paschal moon, &c., &c., resembled most minutely that of the deed of gift entered in 952 at the end of the Amalarius.

From Quimper I went to Rennes (April 26, 1876); for, though but a few hours remained at my disposal before starting for England, I was very unwilling to close my first visit to Brittany without having at least seen and done reverence to the famous Cartulary of Redon, about which I had formed notions which no second-hand information could either destroy or confirm. The book is now in the possession of the Cardinal Archbishop of Rennes, so that it can only be seen as a matter of favour. However, the practical kindness of the Abbé Houet at once put me on the right track, and in spite of my coming wholly unprovided with recommendation or introduction of any kind, M. Combes, the Grand Vicaire, who has an apartment in the palace, courteously obtained leave for me from His Eminence,

to examine the Cartulary at my leisure in his apartment. M. de Courson's edition, so more than admirable in every other respect, fails only in the text itself of the Cartulary; and I was therefore doubly anxious to see it. It had seemed to me to fall into two divisions, the one containing the charters of the ixth and quite early xth centuries, the other containing those of the xith and xiith centuries. The second portion seemed to have a commencement of its own; and it gave me the impression that there might be two books of different dates bound together. I now see that this is a mistake. A further and closer examination may modify what I now say, but my impression is that the earlier portion is written straight off and transcribed from the *Kartarium vetustum*, which is alluded to in some of the later documents; and that the latter part was commenced about the same time as the transcription of the other, but continued with much less regularity. In fact the older part, which is the priceless part from every point of view, whether historical, topographical, or linguistic, may be taken to be an early or mid-xith century copy of a Cartulary, written almost at the beginning of the xth century, when Breton was still spoken in that district. This double transcription would at once account for the mistakes which are found to occur in the numbers, which any one accustomed to read ixth century documents, in which Roman numerals are largely used, will readily pardon. I took down an accurate copy of the boundary of Ran Riantcar, and found that in the edition (p. 112) several Breton words had been actually omitted by an oversight. The facsimile too of the first six lines of the MS. shows three mistakes in the printed text (*ut* for *ut ei*, *est* for *est hoc*, *et* for *ac*); a very discouraging revelation. But the MS. itself deserves going through, line by line, with the most intelligent and affectionate care which can be devoted to it.

Once at home in England, I made all haste to examine the Cotton MS. (Otho E. XIII) of the *Collectio Canonum*. Until I was in Paris, I had unaccountably overlooked the fact that Wassersleben had drawn attention to an Irish gloss as existing on one of the pages of this MS. also. Though in the

XIIIth or XIVth century belonging to St Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury, it presented the same X-XIth century continental handwriting which had become so familiar to my eyes of late. Burnt all round the edges in 1731, and now marvelously restored, the leaves are entirely out of order for want of some printed text by which they could be arranged. But there are the usual component parts; the *Collectio Canonum*, agreeing in the main with the recension found in the Hatton MS. 42, and Wasserschleben's Roman MS.; the *Pauca Colomella* (otherwise called *Excerpta ex libris Romanorum et Francorum*); the *Canones Adomnani*; besides other things not commonly occurring. A cursory examination brought to light eighteen or twenty Old-Breton glosses, one of which had pardonably been mistaken for Irish by Wasserschleben's correspondent. It may seem strange that the linguistic value of a MS. used and cited so frequently by everybody from the time of Ussher and Ware downwards, should have remained all this time unknown in the British Museum. But the truth is that the people who use what others have found are always far more numerous than those who go deliberately into a library on a voyage of discovery.

Now that I had found four MSS. of this one work, all containing evidences of Breton origin, it was time to reconsider the whole question of the *fons et origo* of this collection of Canons. The Arbedoc and Haelhucar of the earlier of the Paris copies betray their Breton origin by their names. The *Libri Romanorum et Francorum* of the *Excerpta* added in the copies which are connected with Brittany seem to have been not Italian and French books, but books borrowed from any place in *Romania*, or *Francia*, as all the districts were called by the Bretons which lay on the other side of the *Limes Britannorum*. The very phrase *Synodus Hibernensis*, occurring so constantly, is one which comes naturally enough from a foreigner; whereas a native Irishman heads such a decision with *Sapientes dicunt*, or *Sapientes nostri dicunt*. Again who was the *Hucar* *Levita ex ultimis Cornugalliae finibus*, who made extracts from the *Collectio Canonum*, and its appended *Excerpta ex libris Romanorum et Francorum*? Was he from the insular Cornwall, or

from the district of Cornouaille in Brittany? It is singular that the search for a few seemingly insignificant glosses should be the means of opening up questions which concern such a much wider field than the philologist cares to deal with. But so it is; and I trust that further investigations may yet bring many things to light which are now as little suspected as these were a few years ago.

In seeing this paper through the press after so many delays, I could not resist the temptation to make a short journey to Ireland, to see the only remaining MS. of distinctively Old-Welsh origin which I had knowingly omitted to examine, namely, the Psalter in Trinity College, Dublin, which I then believed to have been written for Ricemarch by his brother Johannes, the scribe of the Cambridge MS. of *St Augustine de Trinitate*. This I accordingly did in January 1877, and that with unmixed satisfaction. Though of little importance from a linguistic point of view (written in the school of Sulgen, it could hardly be expected to contain any vernacular glosses), it turns out to be one of the most precious monuments of the early Welsh Church yet discovered. In taking a fresh copy of the verses at the end, I noticed for the first time that the writing of the book was ascribed to one Ithael, and the painting of the initial letters alone to Johannes, Ricemarch's brother, who must then have been quite young, as the work was clearly executed during the 19-year cycle 1064—1082, and he did not die till 1136. The handwritings of Ithael (in the Psalter) and Johannes (in the *St Augustine*), members of the same school, possess that very close resemblance that we all know the *St Alban's* hands of the XIIIth century bore to one another; while the fact of the actual difference, however slight (see Westwood's facsimiles of both in the *Palæographia sacra pictoria*), was a certain relief to me, as it afforded me the solution of a difficulty which I had already felt in the fact of the name being written *Ricemarch* in the Psalter, while it was *Rycymarch* in the *St Augustine*¹. (The

¹ The name *Ricemarch* offers a good instance of the way in which Old-Welsh names have been first mis-read

and then corrupted in later times. In the Psalter (written for him by Ithael, 1064—1082) he is *Ricemarch*, with the

verses at the end may however be in the handwriting of Ricemarch himself.) On turning however to the body of the book my surprise knew no bounds when I saw that preceding the Psalter was a precious copy of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, the only document of this nature belonging to any British church, which time has spared, and yet most unaccountably overlooked and ignored by all writers on the subject. It contains several entries of Celtic Saints, Irish as well as British, which might, under the skilful hands of Dean Reeves, our master in all such learning, doubtless be made to

accent on the penultima: 'Ergo mihi nostra qua dicor gente Ricemarch.' In the complaint (prefixed to the *Somnium Scipionis*) he is the same: 'Haec ego Ricemarch defleo mestus.' In the St Augustine (written for him by his brother Johannes, 1080—1090) he is *Rycymarch*, with the same accent: 'Rycymarch sapiens, Arthgen, Daniel que Johannes.' In the XII—XIIIth century copies of his life of St David, he is apparently still *Ricemarch* or *Ricemarchus*. In the *Annales Cambriae* of 1286 (Rolls ed. MS. B) he is *Regewarc*, and his namesake of 1166 *Rigewarc* (the *c* and *m* here for the first time modified). In the *Annales Cambriae* of 1288 (Rolls ed. MS. C) he is *Rykewarch* (the *m* alone modified); his namesake of 1166 is not mentioned in this copy. It is not seemingly until we come to the copy of the *Brut* in the Red Book of Hergest (xvth century) that we find the form *Richmarch* or *Rithmarch*, in which the central and accented syllable *cem* has been crushed out of existence. The *e* is dropped altogether; the *c* is thrown back to the preceding syllable, then mis-read as a *t*, and then aspirated; while the aspirated *m* is thrown forward to the following syllable and then restored to its unaspirated state, its new circumstances not allowing of such modification. But for the mis-

reading of *t* for *c*, this wisest of Welshmen would probably have come down to our times under the name of *Rhygyfarch*, instead of the corrupt form under which he is now universally known, *Rhyddmarch*. It is time to draw attention to such points, when even respectable writers allow themselves to speak of the old forms of names as incorrect and corrupt ways of writing the names as now current. A little patient investigation of this kind into the course of modification and corruption to which words and names have been subjected during the last thousand years, would form a very wholesome element of training, and would sweep away many cobwebs from the Welsh antiquary's path. When a British *Winniau* compiles a Penitential, why enquire which of the many Irish *Finians* is possibly the author of it? When the name *Artbeu* occurs on a sculptured stone, why waste time and paper in speculating as to which of the many people named *Artgen* it may belong to, when it cannot by any possibility refer to any of them; both being legitimate names, and all three of their elements (*Art* or *Arth*, *gen*, *beu* or *biu*) being found frequently in composition, as may be seen without trouble by turning over a few pages of the Cartulary of Redon or the *Liber Landavensis*?

yield much satisfactory fruit, and perhaps to show, with greater or less probability, where it was in Ireland, whether at Kells, or elsewhere, that the father Sulgen amassed that learning of which his son speaks in such glowing terms. The MS. was once in the possession of Bishop Bedell; and it was, no doubt, the happy accident of his having lent it to Archbishop Ussher, shortly before the outbreak of the civil war, in 1641, that alone saved it from the destruction which befell almost the whole of Bedell's library. During the few days that I had counted upon for pure holiday, I used every available hour that the library authorities could give me, and I made a copy of the entire Martyrology, and collated it again with my copy, so as to be ready for further work upon it.

During an hour or two snatched from this work, I was fortunate enough to have the guidance of Miss Stokes to the Royal Irish Academy, where I saw for the first time the patriarch of Irish books, the *Leabhar na huidhri*, written at the close of the xth century, and containing on one of its leaves a fragment of the Irish version of the *Historia Britonum*, of great value and interest even for my purposes, for the evidence of the xth century Latin text which it necessarily represents, and also for the orthography of the British names which occur in the fragment. Miss Stokes has succeeded in bringing out into clear daylight that the xth and xith centuries, so far from being periods of decay and destruction, as they were once represented to be, were in reality, in spite of the troubles with the Northmen, a golden period for metal-work and its allied arts. We know from the notices of Sulgen alone, what a reputation for learning Ireland had in the middle of the xith century. We may perhaps yet find that, even through the similar ravages of the Northmen in Brittany, schools were kept alive through these centuries, of which the books I have described give almost unmistakeable evidence, and of which we may still come upon traces which have as yet escaped notice. [Indeed this very point, which Miss Stokes has brought out with such force in relation to Ireland, coupled with the existence of so many Breton books which we cannot put to a higher date than these same xth and xith centuries, naturally leads up to the sug-

gestion that the decay of Celtic Brittany was not so much owing to the ravages of the Northmen in these centuries as to the strong wave of revived monasticism in the XIIth century. The wave which swept over Scotland and replaced the old Columban houses by Cistercians and Augustinians, may with equal effect have swept out the marks of Celtic learning in Brittany as elsewhere. There was a new learning in the XIIth century as in the XVIth; and it would be equally an ecclesiastical revolution which transferred these books from Brittany to Corbie and Fécamp in the XIIth century, and which again transferred the Glastonbury and Canterbury books to Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and the Corbie and Fécamp books to Paris at the later period¹.]

There are not many manuscripts now, so far as I know, which I have not examined with my own eyes. Of these the most important are the Vatican *Historia Britonum* and *Hispérica Famina*. Of the copies of the *Collectio Canonum* which I have not seen, those at Lyons² and at Orleans seem the most likely to show connexion with the four Brittany copies I have mentioned above. The Bodleian authorities have kindly lent me the Hatton MS.; and now I see both this and the Cotton copy contain the somewhat fuller recension of the work which Wasserschleben only notes as existing in the Roman MS. It seems almost a pity that his edition, which (but for the absence of an index) is the perfect model of what an edition should be, could not have been carried out on somewhat different lines. Now that the origin of the collection is in a fair way to be cleared up, the St Gallen MS. is certainly not the one which deserves best to be chosen for the standard of text. While the collection was considered Irish in origin, no doubt a MS. found in an Irish monastery was the obvious copy to use. For the same reason now, one of the Brittany copies would stand first. But when all the copies have been more fully examined, the time will perhaps have come for a fresh edition.

The broad results of all these investigations are plain enough. We can no longer complain that our authorities are to be

¹ [The text within brackets is from a MS. note. J.] not exist and never had existed. See p. 414. J.]

² [This MS. Mr Bradshaw found did

counted on the fingers of one hand; for, though but little new has come to light which adds much to our knowledge of actual Welsh *origines*, yet I feel satisfied that a distinct advance has been made in the separation of Welsh from Cornish and Breton books. Political changes have much to do with the modification of a language; and it has become easy now to define the Old-Welsh period as lasting from the results of the break-up of the British nation at the close of the viith century to the results of the Norman Conquest at the close of the xth, in other words from 700 to 1100. Before that date we have no written books. Our knowledge of the Old-British vocabulary is to be gleaned exclusively from later copies of the authors of the time. Those of this period I have sought for and examined with what diligence I could give. The result is, that no written remains of Welsh can be attributed with any show of reason to an earlier date than the second decade of the ixth century, while for Cornish and Breton writing we cannot confidently go higher than the close of the ixth or the beginning of the xth century. After 1100 the languages change materially. For Welsh, no one can open the Black Book of Caermarthen or even the *Liber Landavensis*, without being struck directly by the difference presented to the eye. The fate of two single words is enough to show at once on which side of the boundary line any document is to be placed. The loss of the final consonant in the article *ir* (*i* or *y*), and the loss of the initial consonant in the preposition *di* (*i* or *y*), is, so far as I can see, an unfailing test. There is not a single trace of either in the whole range of Old-Welsh written remains. If the students of inscriptions can only be brought to bear this in mind, they will perhaps save themselves from many needless pitfalls.

To sum up, then, this prolix and egotistical narrative, I will only add a tabular statement of the manuscripts I have examined. Far too much has been said about myself; but I can honestly say that it has been said solely in the hope that, by seeing actually how I came to find one thing after another, others may be induced to start on similar exploring expeditions for themselves. The field is open to all; and a well-trained instinct is sure to find its own reward.

(MS. note, Easter, 1877).

One part of this suggestion has been unexpectedly verified while the above paragraph was actually passing through the press. Finding that I had six free days before the beginning of the work of the term, I could not resist the temptation to go over to France, taking a brief run down the Loire to Orleans, Blois, and Tours, and returning to Paris by Le Mans and Chartres. I was anxious to get a sight, even for a few minutes, of the copies of the *Collectio Canonum* at Orleans and Chartres. I told my friend who was with me, Mr Reginald Heygate, that I expected, from the casual notice I had seen of their contents, that the Orleans copy would be in a handwriting something like the Oxford MS. now in my rooms at Cambridge, and that it would probably contain a few Breton glosses; but that the Chartres copy would be almost certainly in a commonplace French hand without a trace of a gloss of any kind, and that the only Breton author quoted (Winniau) would probably have his name wrongly spelt. Both remarks were verified, one of them to an extent I had not dared to expect.

At Orleans we made our way direct to the Library, which was fortunately open, and in three minutes my eyes were delighted with the sight of an absolutely perfect copy of the *Collectio Canonum*, the handwriting strongly resembling that of the other copies, followed by the usual *Excerpta ex libris Romanis et Francorum* and the *Canones Adamnani*, with an unmistakable Breton scribe's name (Junobrus) at the end, and literally scores of Breton glosses forcing themselves upon one's notice. I sat down and went straight through half the book in an hour or two, during which time I extracted over 170 glosses, many even at first glance of very great interest, and, even so far, exceeding in number those which were to be found in all the other Breton MSS. I had found, all put together. I could not wait, but determined to borrow the book, or go back and work at it on the first possible opportunity.

At Chartres, on the way back, I had but ten minutes, and the Library was closed. But, fortunately for me, M. de Mianville, the librarian, was within, and he most kindly gave me the MS.

at once. Precisely as I had said, good common-place French Caroline minuscule writing of the xith century. I turned over every leaf, but there was no vestige of a gloss. I turned to the Title *De furto* to look for the citation from the Penitential of Winniau, and, as I had foretold, his name was written *Vinnianus*, as might have been expected from a French or Irish monk, who knew nothing of his neighbour's language.

It is not often perhaps that such a hasty run, with such very precarious grounds for expecting good results, has been so amply and happily rewarded.

TABULAR STATEMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS,

Showing the different handwritings
and their approximate
dates.

I. WELSH.

1. *Liber Commonei*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32 (no. 3 in the volume). This contains the Runic alphabet of Nemniu, various *Excerpta de mensuris calculi*, Græco-Latin *Excerpta* from the Bible, a 19-year cycle for 817—835, &c. From Glastonbury.....ixth cent.

2. Gospel of Teliau (commonly known as the 'Book of St Chad'). Lichfield Cathedral Library. From Llandaff in the xth century.

[A. Text (probably Irish)VIII—IXth cent.]

B. Deed of gift, Latin with Welsh names, ixth cent.

C. Two charters of Ris, mixed Latin and Welsh,
ixth cent.

D. Manumission of Bleidiud, Latin with Welsh
names.....IXth cent.

E. Grant of Mormarh, mixed Latin and Welsh,
xth cent.

F. Boundaries of Mainaur med diminih, mixed
Latin and Welshxth cent.

- G. Entry beginning 'Surexit tutbule...', mixed Latin and Welshxth cent.
- H. Various signatures, Welsh names, ix—xth cent.
- [J. Signature of 'Wynsige presul'.xth cent.
- K. Entry of Latin and Saxon names, x—xith cent.
- L. Purgation of Godwine, Anglo-Saxon...xith cent.]
3. Juvenius. Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.
4. 42. Several handwritings.
- A. Text, Latin with Welsh subscription, ixth cent.
- B. 7 Welsh glosses (leaves 3^a—4^a).....ixth cent.
- C. Poems, 4 Latin and 2 Welsh.....ixth cent.
- D. Rhythm beginning 'Arbe terna...', Latin,
xth cent.
- E. 2 paragraphs, mixed Latin and Welsh (leaf 1^a)
and 13 Welsh glosses (leaves 2^a—6^b, 15^a).
xth cent.
- [F. 8 Cornish or Breton glosses (leaves 24^a—42^b), in
a handwriting resembling the F-hand in the
Hatton MS. of the *Collectio Canonum* (see
below)xth cent.]
- G. All the other Welsh glosses (leaves 8^b—54^b),
x—xith cent.
4. Martianus Capella. Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College, MS. 153.
- A. Text, and most of the glosses.....ixth cent.
- B. A few glosses.....xth cent.
5. Ovid, *de arte amandi*. Oxford, Bodleian Library,
Auct. F. 4. 32 (no. 4 in the volume). From Glastonbury.
- A. Text, and most of the glossesix—xth cent.
- B. A few glosses.....xth cent.
6. Martyrology and Psalter of Ricemarch. Dublin,
Trinity College, MS. A. 4. 20.
- A. Text (Latin), written by Ithael, containing a few
Celtic namesxith cent.
- B. Initial letters by Johannes, son of Sulgen,
xith cent.

C. Verses beginning 'Filius Isai...', perhaps in the handwriting of Ricemarch himself; Latin with Welsh namesxith cent.

7. St Augustine, *De Trinitate*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 199. Written by Johannes, son of Sulgen, with verses (Latin) about himself and his family, and a Welsh quatrain. From St David'sxith cent.

8. Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*. British Museum, Cotton MS. Faustina C. i. (no. 2 in the volume). Text with Chronology (from Bede) at the end, and Lament of Ricemarch at the beginning, Latin, with one Welsh name.

xith cent.

Transcripts :

9. Asser, *Vita Aelfredi*. British Museum, Cotton MS. Otho A. xii. Now a fragment, which may be supplemented from the transcript made for Abp. Parker before it was burnt. Latin, with Welsh words and names. From St Augustine's, Canterburyxith cent.

10. *Historia Britonum*. British Museum, MS. Harl. 3859 (no. 3 in the volume). Transcript of a St David's MS. of the xth century, in Anglo-Norman handwriting, including Welsh annals and genealogies, Latin, with many Welsh names and wordsxith cent.

11. *Leabhar na huidhri*. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy. One leaf of this contains a fragment of the Irish version of the *Historia Britonum*, with many British names in it.

xith cent.

II. CORNISH AND BRETON.

[N.B. I have not separated these, because of the difficulty of doing so; but where a book is decidedly one or the other, I have noted it as such¹.]

¹ [All are in fact marked in pencil with a B or C and consecutive numbers: so I have arranged them accordingly. J.]

A. Cornish:

1. Gospel of Petroc (commonly called the Bodmin Gospels). British Museum, MS. Add. 9381.

[A. Text (Latin). French handwriting.....ix—xth cent.]

B. Manumissions in various hands, extending from ab. 940 to ab. 1020, some Cornish writing, some Anglo-Saxon; Latin or Anglo-Saxon, with many Cornish names.....x—xith cent.

2. *Liber de beneficiis, de raris fabulis, &c.* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 572 (no. 4 in the volume).

A. Text (Latin) with Cornish glosses.....xth cent.

[B. Entries made after the book passed into Saxon handsxith cent.]

3. St Augustine, *de orando deo, de igne purgatorio.* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 572 (no. 3 in the volume).

A. Text (Latin) with scribe's Cornish name. Hiberno-Saxon writing.xth cent.

[B. Entries made after the book had passed into Saxon hands.....xith cent.]

4. *Expositio Missae, Liber Thobiae.* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 572 (no. 2 in the volume).

A. *Expositio Missae* (Latin)xth cent.

B. *Liber Thobiae* (Latin), with 3 Cornish glosses.
xth cent.

5. *Missa S. Germani.* Oxford, Bodleian Library. MS. Bodl. 572 (no. 1 in the volume). Latin text, with some British namesxth cent.

B. Breton:

1. Amalarius, *de divinis officiis.* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 192. Latin text, with a few Breton glosses, written in 952. From Christ Church, Canterbury.....xth cent.

2. Euty chius, *de conjugationibus verborum*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32 (no. 1 in the volume). From Glastonbury.

- A. Text (Latin) with Breton glosses...IX—Xth cent.
- [B. Drawing of Christ, with inscription along the rod in Hiberno-Saxon lettersXth cent.
- C. Verses over figure of St Dunstan in modified (English Carolineminuscul?) letters, Xth cent.]

3. *Collectio Canonum*, &c. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton 42. From Glastonbury.

- A. Text of *Coll. Can.* (leaves 8^a—24^a), IX—Xth cent.
- B. Text of *Coll. Can.* (leaves 24^b—end), IX—Xth cent.
- C. Breton glosses on *Coll. Can.*IX—Xth cent.
- D. Text of Statutes of General Councils...Xth cent.
- E. Text of *Capitulare* of Charles the Great, Xth cent.
- F. Additions throughout, with Hesperic words, in a handwriting resembling the F-hand of the Juvencus (see above).Xth cent.
- [G. Text of *Coll. Can.* (first quire, supply).
X—XIth cent.]

4. Juvencus. See under Welsh MSS., no. 3, F-handwriting, Cornish or Breton glosses.Xth cent.

5. *Collectio Canonum*, &c. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 12021. Latin, with vernacular glosses, and Breton names. From Corbie.IX—Xth cent.

6. *Collectio Canonum*. Orleans. [See pp. 412, 414, 482. J.]

7. *Collectio Canonum*, &c. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 3182. Text (Latin) with 3 Breton glosses and some names. From Fécamp.....XIth cent.

8. *Collectio Canonum*, &c. British Museum, Cotton MS. Otho E. XIII. Text (Latin) with Breton glosses and some names. From St Augustine's, Canterbury...X—XIth cent.

9. Gurdestin's Life of St Winwaloë of Landevennech (commonly called the Cartulary of Landevennech). Quimper, Bibliothèque communale.

- A. Text, Latin, with many Breton names and a few Breton phrases.....Xth cent.
 B. Additional matter, charters, &c. Latin, with Breton names and words.....XI—XIIth cent.

10. *Historia Britonum*. Vatican.

Transcripts:

11. *Hisperica Famina*. Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Royale Grand-Ducal, MS. 89. Fragments of the text (Latin, with a few Breton glosses), with *Glossae collectae* (Latin and Breton). From Epternach.....IX—Xth cent.

12. *Hisperica Famina*. Vatican.

13. Cartulary of St Saviour's, Redon. Rennes, Bibliothèque de l'Archevêché.

- A. Text (Latin) of older charters, with masses of Breton names, many Breton words, and a few boundaries in mixed Latin and Breton.

Xth cent.

- B. Text of later charters, Latin, with a few Breton names.....XI—XIIth cent.

14. Litany at Reims.

(MS. note apparently referring to page 457.)

The mere copying out afresh and indexing the glosses forced this upon my notice, in cases like the adjective termination *-aul* or *-ol*, and the preposition *di* or *do*. Wherever they occur in the undoubtedly Welsh MSS. they are *-aul* and *di*. On the other hand, in the Eutychius and the Luxemburg fragment they are uniformly *-ol* and *do*; and this is constantly confirmed by all the newly discovered glosses in the books connected with Brittany and Cornwall. The Orleans MS. sometimes goes further and has *dutimen* and *muntul*, where the others have *dodimenn* and *montol*, which latter is *menntaul* in the Martianus Capella.

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